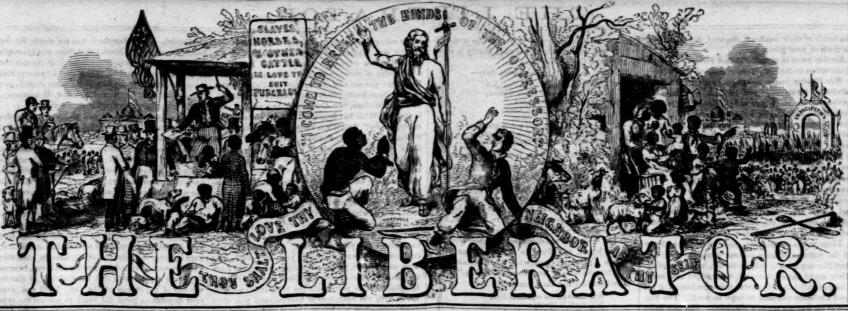
31 WASHINGTON STREET, ROOM No. 6. -AT-ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

FTERMS - Three dollars per annum, in advance. Figure opies will be sent to one address for TEN MAR remittances are to be made, and all letters

If All Penning to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be ning to the premiury concerns of the pap forted, (Post PAID,) to the General Agent. Abertisements of a square and over inserted three safere cents per line; less than a square, 75 cents Yearly and half yearly advertise-

ir hree insertions. Yearly and L The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Penn-Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are marine to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR. The following gentlemen constitute the Financial DT The following gentlemen constitute the Financial market, be are not responsible for any debts of the marketis: Wesnell Phillips, Edward Quincy, Edward Jackson, and William L. Garrison, Jr.



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

"Ilay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the Parsiners of the United States, but the Comparison of the Arty, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES. . . . From the instant that the starchedding States become the theatre of a war, civil, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Coveness extend to interfere each the transfer of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery, IN EVERY WAY IN WHICH AT CAN BE INTERFERED. wirm, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or de-stroyed, to the cession of States, burdened with slavery, to a foreign power. . . It is a war power. I say it is a war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invarion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to every on the war, and sust cases it ox, acconding to the Laws or wan ; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."—J. Q. ADAMS.

TH LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 20, 1864.

The Liberator.

THIRTY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Photographically reported by Jas. M. W. Ygnninton.]

The Thirty-first Anniversary of the American Anti-Sarery Society was celebrated on Tuesday and Wednesday of last week, at the Church of the Puriand Cooper Institute, by several meetings, the fest of which was held at 10 o'clock on Tuesday, at the Charch, WM. LLOYD GARRISON, the President of the Society, in the chair. Among the friends of the Society on the platform were George Thompson, Wendell Phillips, Edmund Quincy, Samuel May, Jr., John Eankin, Thomas Garrett, Revs. O. B. Frothinglan, John T. Sargeant, and Antoinette L. Blackwell, lanes and Lucretia Mott, Oliver Johnson, J. Miller McKin, Miss Susan B. Anthony, Wm. Wells Brown, nd Wm. H. Day. The audience was unusually larg, for a morning meeting, and comprised not only very many of the old and long-tried friends of the cause, but large numbers of young men and wones, whom the events of the hour have brought into sympathy, more or less hearty, with the radical phase of the Anti-Slavery movement which this Society represents. Not without emotion could one familiar with the great struggle for the freedom of the slave which has been going on this country for thirty years, and more, look over the great audience, and mark the many venerable men and women, their hir silvered with honorable years, who have given deir lives with self-sacrificing zeal and noble effort, to the elevation of an outcast and despised race, patientblboring, amid derision and obloquy and reproach, a lay the foundations of that Temple of Liberty to which the multitude now come up to lay the capone with shoutings. For long and weary years her struggled, "their faith triumphant over fears," sail, at this hour, it is given them to see the fruition their hopes near at hand, and their abiding faith

Lasar) played-the good old tune of "Lenox"-"The year of jubilee has come." Mr. Garrison commenced the exercises by reading the following hymn, by TheoDore Tilton,

as God of justice and liberty gloriously vindicated.

A fitting prelude to the exercises of the meeting was

he voluntary which the organist (Prof. Sigismund

which was sung by the choir :-O Then, before whose throne we fall, Who sparnest none, who lovest all,— How long, O God, from land and sea, Shall yet the groaning nations call?

O Thou, by whom the lost are found, Whose Cross, upraised, forever stands,
When shall its shadow on the ground
Spread East and West through all the lands,
Until it gird the world around?

O Thou, who makest kingdoms Thine, When shall thy mighty arms outres from Southern palm to Northern pin To bind each human heart to each, And each to Thee as branch to vine?

O Thou, who cleansest human sin, For whom the whole creation waits, When shall thy reign on earth begin?— And let the King of Glory in !

The PRESIDENT then read the following signifeat passages from the 50th and 51st chapters of Jer-

The word that the Lord spake against Babylon and quinst he land of the Chaldeans by Jeremiah the public. Declare ye among the nations, and publish, use the past of the continuous and publish, and conceal not; any, blevious taken, Bel is confounded, Merodach is broken in pieces; her idols are confounded, her images are hale in pieces. For out of the north there cometh ys ation against her, which shall make her land desoin, and sone shall dwell therein; they shall remove, the shall depart, both man and beast. In those days, and in that time, saith the Lord, the children of Israel shall depart, both man and beast. In those days, and in the part of the land the land which was a shall dwell therein; they shall remove, they shall expo, and seek the Lord in the land which was the way to Zion with their lass thickerward, saying. Come, and let us join our-nies to the Lord in a perpetual covenant that shall nit is troptes. My people hath been lost sheep; ther shepherds have caused them to go astray, they are trunched me away on the mountains: they have me from mountain to hill, they have forgotten their saing place. All that found them have devoured fam: and their adversaries said, We offend not, because they have sinned against the Lord, the habitation fjunce, even the Lord, the hope of their fathers. Resume of the midst of Babylon, and go forth out of the land of the Chaldeans, and be as the he goats bein the shocks. For, lo, I will raise and cause to come yeniat Babylon and search out of the said of the Chaldeans, and they shall set themselves in any against her; from thence she shall be taken; the arrows shall be as of a mighty expert man; none shall nountry; and they shall set themselves in any against her; from thence she shall be a spoil; that spoil her shall be astissed, saith the Lord. A mad of battle is in the land, and of great destruction. In a site banuner of the whole earth cut as under and lake; they is the of the continuous and continuous. "The word that the Lord spake against Babylon and diat spoil her shall be satisfied, saith the Lord. A man spoil her shall be satisfied, saith the Lord. A man spoil her shall be satisfied, saith the Lord. A man spoil her shall be satisfied, saith the Lord. A man shall have lain a share for thee, and thou are in the hammer of the whole earth cut assumer and then last law is Babylon become a desolation among for saions! I have lain a share for thee, and thou are in the no Babylon, and thou wast not aware the saint shall have lain a share for thee, and thou are in the said hought forth the weapons of his influence, and the Lord. The Lord hath opened his influence, and lath brought forth the weapons of his influence, and the babylon for this is the work of the Lord God of sain the land of the Challeans. Come against her has the same border, open her storehouses: cast has us heaps, and destroy her utterly: let nothing the left. Stay all her bullocks; let them go down is saighter: were unto them! for their day is that the said of the land of Babylon, to destinate the said of the land of Babylon, to destinate of his temple.

Cat together harders against Rabylon; all years the said of the land of the Lord our God, the land the land of the land

her of his temple. So the Lord our Good, the bogether the archers against Babylon: all ye of the bow, camp against it round about; let seroe escape: recompense her according to her schonling to all that she hath done, do unto a the lath been proud against the Lord against the lath seed against the lath are lather than the lath beautiful against the lath seed against the lather and against the lather against in the control of the of upon their chariots, and upon all the min-ple that are in the midst of her: and they ame as women: a sword is upon her treas-d they shall be robbed. A drought is upon ra; and they shall be dried up; for it is the

dent of the United States :-

EXECUTIVE MANSION, 
WASHINGTON, May 9, 1864. 
To the Friends of Union and Liberty:
Enough is known of army operations within the last few days to claim our especial gratitude to God. While what remains undone demands our most sincere prayers to, and reliance upon, him without whom all human effort is vain, I recommend that all patriots at their homes, in their places of public worship, and wherever they may be, unite in common thanksgiving and prayer to Almighty God. ing and prayer to Almighty God.
(Signed) ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

sure of fulfilment in the end; for

"Freedom's battle once begun, Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son, Though baffled oft, is ever won."

A fervent and impressive prayer was then offered hymn was sung, as follows :-

Out of the dark the circling sphere Is rounding onward to the light; We see not yet the full day here, But we do see the paling night;

And Hope, that lights her fadeless fires, And Faith, that shines, a heavenly will, And Love, that courage re-inspires— These stars have been above us still.

Look backward, how much has been won! Look round, how much is yet to win The watches of the night are done; The watches of the day begin.

Thy will our dearest hopes enfolds;
O keep us steadfast, patient, true!

ness meetings.

one who has never spoken, primarily, for the sake of bottom, sinking or swimming together -- is, rememberreceiving the applause of his friends, and who has ing the danger on the right hand and the left, to clear never hesitated to speak all that was in him, in view of the opposition and contumely of his enemies. I pathway, if in the providence of God, by any possihave the pleasure of introducing WENDELL PHILLIPS, bility, we may save the liberty of the whole, and the Esq., of Boston. (Prolonged applause.)

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ. MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Those ho follow me will probably find ample text for what they have to say to you to-day in the very eloquent and excellent resolutions which have just been read to us. For myself, I beg leave to address what I shall say to you this morning, to a resolution which I ask

leave to read :-Resolved. That while we do not criticise the wishes

I recollect, Mr. President, and will endeavor to bear which interest us as pledged to secure the abolition liberal exercise of despotic power, until at last vigi- lar cry is, "Stand by the Administration!"

to heaven, and lifted up even to the skies. O thou that dwellest upon many waters, abundant in treasures, thine end is come, and the measure of thy covetousness. The Lord of hosts hath sworn by himself, saying, Surely I will fill thee with men, as with caterpillars; and they shall lift up a shout sagainst thee. For thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel: The daughter of Babylon is like a threshing-floor, it is time to thresh her; yet a little while, and the time of her harvest shall come. Thus saith the Lord of hosts; The children of Israel and the children of Judah were oppressed together: and all that took them captives oppressed together: and all that took them captives held them fast; they refuse to let them go. Their Redeemer is strong; the Lord of hosts is his name; he shall shoroughly plead their cause, that he may give rest to the land, and disquiet the inhabitants of Babyment to-day: three thousand million probably the ulti-The President said-We meet this morning under mate debt of State, county and town, and war damavery cheering and hopeful circumstances, in view of ges; an annual expense of three hundred million bewhat comes to us from the battle-field. The rebel-lion is reeling to its overthrow, and the cause which us, which will be inevitably necessary on any plan of is dear to all our hearts-is in full promise of trium- reconstruction. Under that mortgage rests the labor phant success—the cause of impartial and glorious of the next half-century. Every living right hand is liberty. (Applause.) It is obviously proper, at this mortgaged, and every one to be born for the next time, to read the following proclamation of the Presi- twenty years, for the atonement which God has demanded for the sin of our fathers. Hitherto, the charm of American liberty has been the surplusage of its means. When an American artisan reached Saturday night, after he had paid his rent, his clothing and his food, he had a half or a third of his wages left-ample material for books, for lectures, for amusements, for newspapers, for travel, for the education of his children. The Austrian prays to-day, in the streets of Vienna, "God grant I may be as well off to-morrow as I was yesterday!" No Yankee ever breathed such a prayer. Every Monday morning, he commenced And so, from the beginning, the prophecy has been life better than he started the week before. This has been the fulcrum and the spring-board which elevated the labor of the North into intellectual and moral life. This surplus dollar was pulpit, college, academy, impulse, and lifted labor to a higher level than the rest of the world knew. The English artisan, (speaking genby Rev. O. B. FROTHINGHAM; after which, another erally,) when he reaches Saturday night, has spent his last dollar for food, rent, clothing, and begins Monday morning almost as hopeless as the previous. Now, so long as the results of this war last, so long as the inevitable necessities of the government for twenty years to come are to take one-third, if not one-half of the average income of the capital of the country to defray its expenses, so long the laboring masses of the Northern States are robbed of just the surplusage which constituted its nucleus of intellectual and

I look out upon our future, therefore, as one vastly momentous in the history of republican government which were laid over to be acted upon at the busi- for the harbor. What I ask of American citizens, interested alike in twenty millions of white men and The PRESIDENT-You will now be addressed by four millions of black-in the providence of God in one free institutions bequeathed to us.

Over all this picture looms the cloud of a government habituated to the exercise of despotic power. Well did Seward say to Lord Lyons, "I but ring a bell on this side, and, unchallenged, I put in prison a New Englander; I ring another one on that, and, equally irresponsible, consign a citizen of Ohio to a dungeon. No such despotism this side the wall of China. Necessary-inevitable-not to be found fault with in this death-grapple with rebellion. But all the more earnestly does it become us to remember that such powof the Administration, still, as Abolitionists, we feel bound to declare that we see no evidence of its purpose to put the freedom of the negro on such a basis as will secure it against every peril.

In looking, therefore, at our question, let us reteadily in mind, that we come here this morning as member that it is on a platform girdled by these dan-Abolitionists: that this platform is sacred to the gers that we discuss the abolition of slavery to-day claims of the negro; that, so far as possible, we I recognize as gladly as any man, as proudly as any throw out of consideration here all those general in- man, the valor and the skill of the Army of the Pototerests which concern us only as citizens; and that mac, and its matchless chief. (Loud applause.) I beas far as may be, we confine ourselves to those things lieve that Grant will go to the Gulf when he plans to (renewed applause,) and plant the stars and stripes of chattel slavery. Still, I confess it is hardly possi- again triumphant on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. ble, in such an hour as this, that one should totally (Continued applause.) But I believe it will be done forget that he has interests broader than those which over battle-fields as bloody as that which he treads concern merely the abolition of slavery. With the to-day; for, though the rebellion reels in Virginia, cannon shot echoing from the borders of Virginia, it is by no means broken when it quits the Old with the best blood and bravest of the nation poured Dominion. We have learned-the sections of the out like water in defence of Republican institutions, country-at least to respect each other. We know with a great weight resting on the nation, the terrible the South; its unanimity; its decided purpose; its burden which God gives it to-day, to save by the willingness to die for its idea. We know its readisacrifice of all its material wealth, if necessary, and ness for every sacrifice; its indomitable pride. Those its best blood, the institutions bequeathed to us by our elements are not to be subdued by a single battle; no, fathers, it is impossible not to call to mind that even nor by three such. I believe, therefore, that although we Abolitionists, pledged to so sacred an object, have we beat the rebellion out of Virginia, it will still live. not only the right, but are bound to remember that The war is to last many months longer. In considering that object, high and sacred as it is, is to be secured our question, therefore, we are to consider, fairly, the by the most economical means, by the slightest possi-ble peril to the liberty of the white man, by the light-est mortgage laid on the industry of the future, by the slightest possible submission to the inevitable des-potism of war, accustoming the public mind to the philosophy the war shall be conducted. The poputhe slightest possible submission to the inevitable des- that this Summer the country is to say under what lance, and the keen sense of individual right, and the appliause.) I recognize it. It has a broad, deep, pasacredness of the bulwarks of personal liberty are triotic meaning. Stand by the Administration! It lost in the din of battle. All these considerations we, is every man's duty, every citizen's duty, to stand even as Abolitionists, have a right to bear in mind.
Standing, therefore, as we do this hour, with the news ber, Mr. President, we are American, not European. (if it can be credited) of the greatest success of the We live under the Constitution of the United States, whole three years, before which, as our President has not under French or English rule; and our fathers well said, the rebellion reels, it is still to be borne in have laid it down as the safest, wisest principle of govnind that we have already incurred a debt, that we ernment, that every four years the citizen shall sum have already sacrificed an amount of life, that we mon the government before himself, try it, and record have already blunted the old vigilance for individual his verdict. Every four years an administration comes

land of graven images, and they are mad upon their idols. Babylon hath been a golden cup in the Lord's hand, that made all the earth drunken: the nations are have drunken of her wine; therefore the nations are how for her; take balm for her pain, if so be she may be healed. We would have healed Babylon, but she is not healed; foraske her, and let us go every one into his own country; for her judgment reachet unto heaven, and lifted up even to the skies. O thou that dwellest upon many waters, abundant in treasures, water. The youngest of us are never again to see

If you think such a privilege dangerous, if you think leaving everything connected with it in the same pos the exercise of such a right inexpedient, there is the Constitution of the United States-assail it, but leave me untouched! There is the Convention of '89-attack it, but leave me uncensured! There is the fundamental principle of American institutions-deny it, but leave me uncriticised! I am only a constitution al American citizen, treading in the footsteps of the partment—the broadest field of experiment, under the fathers of the Republic, and denying that any man has mons us, therefore, to the discharge of this duty, and no thoughtful citizen has a right to evade it. As an Abolitionist, I feel the deepest interest in the exercise I should not say this, if I thought this was a com-

anybody and a little better; I will trust to the cannon

shot that he manages." But if our success carries

struggle between Northern and Southern civilization The Hon. L. W. Spratt said at Montgomery, at that one. Convention which launched the Confederacy, when he the banner, or shall it come twenty-five or thirty years a true father, the go poisoned remnants of the slave system for a quarter the President as the foulest insult to the blu every victory on the part of the North; for I believe the rivets out of society; it is crumbling up the whole when that work is completely done, no matter what forehead of the United States. may be the form of government that follows, the negro is always free. Witness Mexico and South America. War stalked from the Gulf to the Cape, sweeping all institutions out of her path; and when peace came, the negro, like every other man, had a hand in the reconstruction of the government. But as a white man, as an American citizen, concerned in the welfare of white as well as black, I deprecate one month of war, because I see in it the seeds of debt, military ambition and despotism, to guard against which will such as history nowhere shows. I accept, therefore, with gratitude the first step that the Administration made, in December, towards reconstruction; not that I deem it a wise one, not that I deem it a quite welltimed one, in all its parts; but because I am well aware that the settlement of this war is not to be by battle, but by statesmanship, by the reconstruction of the elements of States; and, therefore, the greatest cause of anxiety is not for the battle-field—we can have nothing there but victory in the end—but it is for the intelligence of the hand that shall finally remodel the Union. Confined as I am out of fairness to those who are to follow me, I must briefly indicate the

facts which I wish to bring to your attention on this I have no charge to make against the Administration for the past-no fault to find with it. I am going to find fault only with its philosophy—its reason of procedure. I am going to allow, if you please, that it wishes the abolition of slavery and the freedom of the negro. I am going to allow the best disposition of the heart; all I am going to find fault with is the head. Now, in Mr. Lincoln's letter to Mr. Hodges, as in every one of his papers, if I do not misunderstand him, he lays down this principle: "I would fain reto give a chance for the opposing parties to come to philosophy of procedure. Then I think his action in through the coming storm.

lips, like a vassal of the Czar, to a life-long allegiance. I acted." That principle he allows. The second principle—that of touching slavery as lightly as possible ture-is evinced in his action. Let me show you The Administration has never yet acknowledged the manhood of the negro. It professes to have abolished chattelism, and the abolition of chattelism leaves man hood. The Administration has never yet acknowledge ed the manhood of the negro. Go to Gen. Banks's de hands of that officer of whom the President says, "He a life-long right to office. (Applause.) The hour sum- gives me the least trouble, does all I want, and makes no complaint." His department has from 50,000 to 200,000 negroes under our flag. His whole system of orders, from beginning to end, has no one element of the recognition of the manhood of the black in it-no one element of contract. The negro is to serve you; you are to fix his wages-what is he worth; if he is insubmon war, to be decided by battle. If America was at this moment engaged in a quarrel with Mexico, if our bayonets were marshalled against those of France, I no law-no equity of agreement. The negro is a serf, punishable at the will, hireable at the will of the Govshould stay at home and say, "Grant is as good as ernment. No manhood. Now, if the Proclamation had made a man, then, like the laborer at Port Royal the banner down to the Gulf, you have not yet finishunder Boston influences, he might make his own coned the war of ideas; you have not yet completed the tract; but there is no negro in Louisiana allowed either to make a contract or choose his residence-not

Again, the negro has been summoned into the army was called upon to announce its programme: "This is no geographical quarrel. This is no quarrel between hour that I ever lived, Abolitionist as I am, was when the men of the North and the men of the South-they twenty millions of white men, having ground the ne are cordial enough. It is a war between the civil in- gro to powder under their proud heels for two hundred stitutions of one section and the civil institutions of years, were obliged, in the death-grapple with the the other section. It is an eagle and a fish tied to- South, to get down and ask the negro to help them gether by indissoluble bonds. The eagle cannot live fight. (Applause.) But that was only humiliating in the fluid suited to the fish, and the fish cannot live what followed was infamous. The Southerner hung in the fluid suited to the eagle. One must perish that him, shot him, bayoneted him, sold him into slavery, the other may survive." (Applause.) Every thought. treated him like a brute-covered with the blue ful Northerner accepts the conclusion. We have reached that ultimate goal, when the ideas of the ders of Christendom, men listened for one word from North and of the South come in conflict; "one must the Capitol, and it was dumb. Again, and again, and perish that the other may survive!" In other words, again, the midnight massacre made the world thrill unless the South supersedes us, we must supersede with borror; and the government was dumb. At last, the South. I believe in God and Democracy, and stirred to fiendish atrocity, white men and black went therefore I believe that ultimately, in that final close down in a common massacre under the walls of Fort of the epoch, the North, representing Justice and Democracy, will surely give law to this belt of the considering. The inevitable gravitation of all time is to-ladden the description of the triple of the president that a case the same of the president the announcement, "If I could only find a case!" "Find a case!" When had the Government made a step of a single inch toward universal suffrage and universal democracy. It ward trying to find one? When, with the amplest will not be different on this continent from what it has A comparatively ignorant laboring class, a large body of fund-holders—in the history of all free States the source of corruption and the grave of independence—

Shall it come when we call Lome the cannon and furl an unknown grave, quits his post at Charleston, like nate of the nation are at his sor The President then read a series of resolutions, maelstrom in which the o'er-laden frigate struggles hence, after an experience of Mexican civilization? vice, and he scours the Virginia waters, while we Will you adjourn the conflict from the battle-field in make search through all her hamlets to find news of Virginia, where we conquer, to the Senate house, the dead body of his child. Well done! But when where we are always betrayed? That is the only did a single government official, civil or military, quit question for the American people. My charge against his post an instant, give up his routine an hour, to fit the Administration, as an Abolitionist, is, that it seeks out what became of the massacred soldiers at Port to adjourn the battle from cannon shot to the forum; Hudson, or of the dead, brutally bayoneted men at from Grant to the Senate-house; and to leave the Fort Wagner? Not one! I arraign that speech of of a century to come. If I was a negro and a slave, I ever uttered on this continent. (Applause and some should pray God that this war might last twenty hisses.) The head of the Confederacy, in the face of years; if I was a negro and a slave, I should dread Europe, repudiated the money debts of Mississippi, and the world wrote " Repudiator" on his forehead that this war, while it lasts, is performing exactly that This Government has repudiated a debt infinitely work which war did in South America. It is taking more binding -- the debt of honor to the men whom it oned to its side, with halters round their civil and social life into its original elements; and necks, and history will write "Repudiator" on the

I speak as an American citizen, as one of a people who, having called that victim race to their side, and covered it with the United States uniform, deserted it. Now, where do you find the explanation ? They have not acknowledged the manhood of the negro. Admiral Dahlgren's son was a man; the white officers that disappear in sickly jails are men, and government follows them. The vigilant eye and long arm of the War Department searches for them amid the filth and disease in the Libby Prison, and picks them out, man demand a virtue and an intelligence in the masses by man, and carries home even the remains to the mother's heart. Not one negro has ever been sought for, much less found. But take a different view. Our resolutions say, with

great reason, "Thanks to Aftorney-General Bates that he has found out that the law of Congress puts the black soldier on a level with the white." I thank him also. But at whose suggestion did he find it out At whose instance did the indifference of the government move? I will tell you. At the instance of the Governor of Massachusetts-tireless, indefatigable, incessant in his appeals to the government to protec the men whom the broad seal of the Commonwealth ed into the service of the nation. (Loud applause.) And yet, if the Administration had had a heart ; if the Administration had recognized the manhood of the negro, could not they have seen the law as well as Attorney-General Bates? The lawyers of New York, Boston and Philadelphia, the legal profession all through the nation, and Mr. Sumner at the Senate Board, a year ago, asserted, "that law covers the black man as well as the white "; and now, April, 1864, Attorney-General Bates says so. Where was the hitch? Why did not the rest of the government see it ? Had they eyes ? Yes; but there are certain construct the Union; and touch slavery only in the things you cannot see without a heart, and the Adlast, inevitable resort. I would try everything else;
I would exhaust all other means; I would allow time,

The law was just as clear when Col. Shaw fell at Fort Wagner as it is to-day. Massachusetts saw it; the an understanding; I would exhaust everything be. Senate saw it; the legal profession saw it; the only fore I would touch slavery." If I understand Mr. one who could not see it was the pilot who demands Lincoln, I do him no injustice in taking this for his that we shall choose him, a second time, to pilot us

have already sacrificed an amount of life, that we have already blunted the old vigilance for individual list verdict. Every four years an administration comes before the people to ask, like the old prophet, "What zens, beware that no such trial shall ever again be not only at liberty, but, as American cities war, if the intelligence and virtue of the people can secure it, is to be the last—at least, between the two sections of the bound to say to the pilot of the last four years, and their relations, remain, after this war, if the last—at least, between the two sections of the bound to say to the pilot of the last four years, and their relations, remain, after this war, is possible. I will merely touch its principle; I will severe before as possible. That is leave everything connected with it in as nearly the same situation as possible."

touch it the least possible." Very well. If we were at war with France, I should not care much for the philosophy; bullets would settle it. But when I get back Louisiana on this principle, what have I got back? Let me tell you a story. The last fortnight, there were in Boston two representatives of the free colored men of Louisiana—Messrs. Bertonneau and Roudancz. In 1862, Butler said to them: "I cannot defend New Orleans-help me!" They gave him 4,000 men; and I heard Butler say, with his own lips, "They saved me the city." In 1863, Gen. Banks summoned a commission to insult them out of office. Like military men, on every principle of military etiquette, they gave up their commissions. In August, 1863, Shepley said, (Banks was at Port Hudson,) just as Butler did, that he was unable to defend the city, and said, "White men, help me!" No response He said to the civil employés of the government, Volunteer for thirty days to defend the government in this emergency or you lose your offices"; and ninetenths of those men, who had eaten the bread of the government for eighteen months, resigned rafher than defend the stars and stripes! That is the Unionism of the whites at New Orleans! Then said Shopley to the black men, whom Banks had insulted out office, "Save me!" and in seventy hours they gave him two thousand men. (Applause.) He put them into the forts, kept them in the service forty days, saved the city until Banks's return, and then mustered them out, finding every man in debt to the government \$6 67 for having saved it! When it was done, the blacks said, "The money is nothing. It seems strange that, having saved the third city in the empire, we should all be owing the nation-but no matter. You say you have twice made us save the city in spite of the Confederates. You are about to reconstruct the Union. Now, having made us twice anger the white, don't leave us to his mercy. We will make our own way to liberty, only give us the ballot. You thought our hands fit for the musket, when you needed it: in Heaven's name give us the ballot when we need it!" Banks said No; the President said No. The State is to be reconstructed by white men, who went up into the steeples to ask God that they might kiss the bars that they saw in the city-they are to vote, and the black man who saved the steeples for us is to be under their heels! And that is the gov-

Now, if we could have Louisiana on that basis, I

would be the last man to criticise; but we cannot. You never can make this nation one by force. It was possible in 1861, when, as I think, one half of the South was Union and the other half Confederate . The great Crittenden resolution of July, 1861, was based on that idea-that a large body of Southern white men were on our side, and only wanted to be assured that we meant to be conciliatory, and they would show themselves. Possibly it might have been so; but we can never know now, because every month of the war has built up a Confederate sentiment, angered, embittered, confirmed against us. Jefferson Davis made a rebellion; it was all he could make. Abraham Lincoln made a Confederacy; no man but he could have made it. (Hisses.) Well, if it is not true, disprove it! (Appleuse.) The Crittenden resolution was passed, as I believe, on the sound basis that the South had been hurried, against her will, into rebellion. Fremont's statesmanlike word echoed over Missouri. (Applause.) Had it been seconded, with that element at the South, and similar enthusiasm at the North, we might have beaten out the rebellion in six or nine months, and had a South not thoroughly alienated from us. But the men who have lost their sons, their property, their houses, who have seen the loved form of their States beaten to ashes-these men are to-day Confederates from anger who were once Unionists from old association. Three years of war have grouted that which was merely a temporary rebellion into a planted confederacy, and it is the slow ness and indifference of the government that have done it. To-day, therefore, the man who takes the helm of the vessel of State in his hand has a ten-fold harder work to do than Abraham Lincoln had in March, 1861, for he has got the South, as far as such a thing can be, unanimous against him. You cannot reconstruct this Union on the loyalty of the white men of the South; there is nothing of it. You may conquer them down to New Orleans; you may cover Virginia with the best blood of the North and of the South both, and when it is over, the South will hate you worse than before. You must reconstruct these States on the loyalty of somebody. How shall it be done? There are but two ways. One is to keep them Territories for twenty years, until this generation dies out; until the temptations of business, until the patronage of the government, until new asso ciations, until the immigration of Northern mercan tile interests, shall replace that white population Then you may do it. But in the meanting must keep one half of this country under the form of Territories, and trust the government with despotic power. I tremble for such an experiment. In the hands of such men as some we have seen in the Presidential chair, I should give up all hope of ever again seeing a Republic. The only other way to reconstruct the Union and save Republican institut is to reconstruct it on the only loyal basis that existsthe blacks. (Applause.) If there are not 10,000 white men in New Orleans who will vote for us, as there are not, (Gen. Banks had to press his own to the ballot-box to make out that number,) then take the 400,000 blacks—give them a vote—link them to the fortunes of the Union—acknowledge the manhood of the black man till the white man is converted

(Applause.)
But I have spoken a great deal longer than I have any right. Whatever I have to say further, I will add at some future session.

The PRESIDENT. Perhaps the Chair will be pardoned for a single remark, before introducing the next speaker. Our friend Phillips has said, very truly, that the American people have laid down the principle, that the American people have laid down the print once in four years they mean to look their a

they flutter in the Kong New-Seven Pines, Savencksburg, Chancel-sation, Knoxville, shurg — all those ers, and others are dren. The grave dren dren. The grave dren. The dren. The grave dren. and now, with full sidewalk to side-have been in bat-

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rrible scenes of ear-ate has placed him-alienate the sympa-o supplied him with a placed himself out-Ve cannot afford to and not the community there be an app ust be no bentation CARLETON. ED SOLDIER.

York Tribune.

A, April 29, 1864.
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In it he recognized ma to do their daty existence. Slavery, to die, and Mr. Foroyments in England en its death. Being lever accustomed to the advice of friends found that there was gh he had the talent, had he been white, scition of a field officulateer regiments. colored children to se of them who had ould be foremost in ted by these motives, mediately made Serverort to Col. S. M. recruiting officer for Maryland. In the e of his race in Balle e cloquence, he in a be the great successman's efforts during iter, in reporting to committee, commendation. His last during a last discount of the commendation. His last during a last discount of the commendation of the commendation. His last during a last discount of the commendation. His last during a last discount of the commendation of the commendation. His last during the commendation of the commendation of the commendation of the commendation. His last during the commendation of the com a zeal and devotion as soon seen that his n seemed undermin-He died suddenly of son are in London, in the camp of the in the camp of the Appropriate remarks by J. Miller McKim, of the Philadelphia Webster, Esq. Char-nittee for the recruit-Mrs. Lucretia Mott. Lucretia Mott. Luct to St. Thomas's that street, by an es-

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it. But they have not committed themselves to the one term principle—they have not been so foolish as no exception to the rule. Take even Louisiana, where, as Mr. Phillips justly complains, serfdom has been that; they say that every four years they will look and see whether they will change their President or substituted for slavery; and we find even there the not; but they hold to the principle that they may keep manhood of the black man and his fitness for freedom him in office for eight, twenty or fifty years, if he and vindicated. Col. Hanks, Superintendent of Labor at they live long enough, and they like each other well New Orleans, says: "The Free Labor movement brought ten to twelve thousand refugees at public ex this season to look at him; and I can only express the pense. Subsequently, conquests swelled the number to 20,000. Not an able-bodied man is there who does conviction of my own mind, that when they shall com not support himself. Only two hundred (and these no man in this nation is now so hated and detested sixty orphans) who are supported." It be by the rebels of the South, and by all at the North wh comes me to be brief, considering that we are all sympathize with the rebels, as ABRAHAM LINCOLN, anxious to hear the gentleman who is to follow methey will make up their minds that he will do to "run the machine" four years longer. (Enthusiastic apschools, etc. For the same reason, I omit special reference to the West Indies. These points which have risen up in the pathway

A Voice-Butler is more hated. The PRESIDENT continued—Grant that there are many sad things to look in the face; grant that the of the nation and have become facts, the American Anti-Slavery Society fully believed, in its inception. whole of justice has not yet been done to the negro grant that here and there grievances exist which are to be deplored and to be redressed; still, looking at the They urged them, therefore, with might and main. Charged with infidelity as was this organization, it yet question broadly, comprehensively, and philosophically, I think the people will ask another questionused Christian weapons to urge its work. The bur den of all was the negro's manhood. The first Biblical truths I have remembered—truths burnt more other they themselves have been one hair's breadth deeply than others into my memory-were words read in advance of Abraham Lincoln? (Applause.) Whethat these Anniversary Meetings, as read to-day, by the er they are not conscious that he has not only been fully up with him, but, on the whole, a little beyond them Garrisonian President of this Society, from the Book of Books, the Word of God. He pointed us through (Applause.) As the stream cannot rise higher than th them, away back to the thunderings and lightnings of Sinai, where God, with his finger dipped in flame, fountain, so the President of the United States, amenable to public sentiment, could not, if he wished to do i wrote himself anti-slavery saying, "I am the Lor far transcend public sentiment in any direction. (Ap thy God which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, plause.) For my own part, when I remember the trials through which he has passed, and the perils which hav surrounded him-perils and trials, unknown to any man, in any age of the world, in official station-when I remember how fearfully pro-slavery was the publi sentiment of the North, to say nothing of the Se when I remember what he has had to deal with-when remember how nearly a majority, even at this hour, thus making the right to life and the right to liberty is the seditious element of the North, and then re member that Abraham Lincoln has struck the chains from the limbs of more than three millions of slave (applause); that he has expressed his earnest desire for the total abolition of slavery; that he has implored the Border States to get rid of it; that he has recognized the manhood and citizenship of the colored po ulation of our country; that he has armed upwards of a hundred thousand of them, and recognized them a soldiers under the flag; when I remember that this Administration has recognized the independence of Liberia and Hayti; when I remember that it has struck a death-blow at the foreign slave trade by granting the right of search; when I remember that we have now early reached the culmination of our great strugg for the suppression of the rebellion and its cause, I do not feel disposed, for one, to take this occasion, or any ccasion, to say anything very harshly against Abraham Lincoln. (Loud and prolonged applause.) Now let me say, that we have been in the habit of

calling the Attorney-General of the United States a "fossil," an "old fogie;" but it is a Scriptural con mand to " give credit to whom credit is due, and honor or is due," even if he be an "old for Whatever Gov. Andrew may have done—all thanks to him !- I think we are to look at the man who actually did the act, who stands historically as the man who di it. Whatever may have been done by individuals to urge on the government or the Attorney-General to a righteous decision, he has done two things which should make him, and will make him, honorable in the history of the United States. He has dared, in the face of the Supreme Court, with Judge Taney at its head, to declare that every colored man is a citizen of the United States (applause); and he has also declared, that between white soldiers and black soldiers there is, there must be, and there can be, no inequality, but that all must stand on the same level, and receive the same reward. If fossilism can do as well as that, let us be thankful, and let radicalism do better if it can. (Applause.)

I have now the pleasure of introducing one who citizenship has been recognized by the Attorney-General of the United States, in behalf of the President and the Administration-Prof. WM. 41. DAY

## SPEECH OF W. HOWARD DAY.

MR. PRESIDENT AND FRIENDS: The time has far elapsed; that it becomes me to speak but briefly. There seems hardly any need of me here, judging from ed you. Their statement of the wrongs to the colored race has been so full, that the blackest man among us could not state it better. I appreciate all which the into the criticisms-the severe criticisms-so needed and so just-of the state of things to-day; and for my interest in the people with whom I am identified, would not lessen the force of those words, for I feel their truth. But I appreciate also the position of you President (Mr. Garrison,) who has just addressed you, and feel with him that much of the failure of Mr. Lin coln to do duty is owing to the failure of the people of the land whose agent he is. Do we complain that Mr Lincoln and the government do not recognize the man hood of the negro? Let us find the cause of that in the people at home. Just so long as citizens of New York exclude respectable colored persons from railway care on the streets; just so long as the people of the city exclude the colored children from the ward schools and force the colored children from several wards to gether, on the ground of color merely; just so long as en in some of the churches of the city there are ne gro pews-just so long as there is evidence that the people themselves do not recognize the manhood of the black man of this country.

Though the nation has been cast into the crucible War, with waves of Death sweeping, for three years past, through our very hearts, the nation has yet to learn one of the first truths proclaimed by this organi zation-namely, that everywhere and at any time emancipation in little or large numbers is a safe policy And I deem it fitting upon the Thirty-first Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society to note the fact that to-day we have a perfect vindication of your principles, if not of all your policy-to point to the realization of the great truth of the safety of emancipation, vindicated, without exception, in every case of ough emancipation around the world. In 1794, in St. Domingo, Cayenne, Gaudaloupe and Martinique in 1810, in Canada; in 1811, in Java; in 1815, in Cer ion; in 1816, in Buenos Ayres; in 1819, in St. Helena in 1821, in Colombia and Chili; in 1823, in Cape Col ony; in 1825, in Malacca; in 1826, in Bolivia and the thern Provinces of Burmah; in 1828, in Peru, Gautemala and Monte Video; in 1834, in the Britis Isles in the Caribbean Sea; and since, in British India and other places too numerous to mention. It may not be known to you, that even in Canada, now so free African slavery existed, and from 1803 to 1810, the poor slave groaned-groaned there as he has since groaned here. They then ran to the United States for protection in freedom, as since, to the number of fifty thousand, the United States slaves have run to Can ada. There they toiled and pined-unheeded by ever the Governors of the land, until a Governor came from England who understood England's principles. He appealed to the Chief Justice of Montreal to declare the aw-and that Chief Justice, going back to 1772, de clared slavery to be so incompatible with British lav that immediately every slave in Canada must go free Those thousands thus introduced to manhood, united with the fifty thousand escaped slaves of this country have wrought on, until their claim to manhood ha been vindicated. Out of thirty thousand cases examined into, we find that twenty-seven thousand of these new-made freemen have had no aid for their physica wants from any source whatever. A vindication, Mr. President, of themselves and of your principles as well The principles of equality for human beings in th church, and before the law of the land, urged by your Society in the early day, were responded to by the ery,
"Let the blacks show themselves capable—it is not in
them to rise." Here was another vindication from their own hands of their manhood, disputed, denied, and of pression should be daguerreotyped upon the soul—until men and women should feel that liberty is above Another point is, that the United States have been all price, and that slavery must die. All would unite with us in singing then-

> "Down let the shrine of Moloch sink, "Down let the shrine of Motoch and, And leave no traces where it stood; Nor longer let its idel drink Its daily cup of human blood; Bat rear another altar there, To truth, and love, and mercy given. And Freedom's gift and Freedom's pray Shall call an answer down from Hea

THE LIBERATOR.

The PRESIDENT-If there is a white man in the sembly who thinks he can make a more closuren speech than that, let the prodigy stand up, and show true it is that, whatever his complexion may be, "a man's a man for a' that!" for our friend who has just taken his seat has proved himself to be a man, fro head to foot. We are now about to take up a colle tion, and while we are doing so, the choir will sing another hymn, and then we shall hear our friend George Thompson; and while he is speaking, we will " take no note of time, even by its loss. The following him then was sung:

> God made all his creatures free; Life itself is liberty; God ordained no other bands Than united hearts and hands. Sin the primal charter broke— Sin, itself earth's heaviest yoke; Tyranny with sin began, Man o'er brute, and man o'er man. But a better day shall be, Life again be liberty,
> And the wide world's only bands
> Love-knit hearts and love-linked hands.

The PRESIDENT-Now, friends, a single word : fo ut of the house of bondage; thou shalt have no other after the splendid yet just eulogium passed upon the gods before me "-to the fact that the 16th verse of friend at my side by Mr. Day, nothing else is really he following chapter makes him who said: "Whoso needed. But, in a word: in 1833, when I was it sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed, England, and heard George Thomrson advocate for in the image of God made he man "-also to say : the cause of the slaves of the West Indies, and He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if be saw that their emancipation was nearly consur found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death "- at that time, believing that, if he could come over to our country, he could win-a yet more glorious vio paramount and inalienable. That Jesus proclaimed tory in emancipating slaves on a still larger scale, it when he said: "Whatsoever ye would that men invited him, on my own responsibility, to come. should do to you, do ye even so to them." That had nothing to offer him; no reward, no compensation Peter thundered it forth on the astonished ears of the tion, no chance of having any fair treatment; haughty Jew-" Of a truth, I perceive that God is no come and look peril in the face, to come and be scoffed respecter of persons." That Paul attested the love at and hounded down wherever he might travelhad for liberty by saying, "I would to God that nothing else. And for his love of humanity and libnot only thou, but also all that hear me this day, were erty and our country, he came; and he came to expe both almost and altogether such as I am, except these rience more than I ever conceived in regard to the bonds." And that voice has been going around the satanic persecution which followed him in every world, like a wave of fire licking up the despotisms of direction. He took his life in his hand, and it was by the world, but yet, through this Society and by other a miracle he escaped at last; his very friends had to means, continuing to whisper in the ear of the bleeding force him out of the country to save his life. He bondman-" Thou thyself art a man!" This man- came again, to find public sentiment somewhat altere hood thus vindicated by the friends of the black man, but still very bitter and malevolent against him; and and the black man himself, deserves a mention by us now he has come a third time. O, what a change is to-day. At this Thirty-first anniversary we can point to results as they stand up proudly in the pathway of ing and how glorious! These are bright days, no Thus the colored people have risen, de- dark ones; they are full of hope and of glory; for spite the objection to their color, despite all obstacles, whereas, in Boston and in Massachusetts he was for by the help of their friends and by self help, by events, merly hunted for his life, on his coming this time, Mas y war rolling its red waves through half a million sachusetts and Boston make the amende honorable, in hearts and homes, sweeping out the jewels in those the person of Gov. Andrew, in Music Hall, welcom hearts and homes, and burying them out of sight, un- ing GEORGE THOMPSON as the friend of America an til they shall be taken up to make up His jewels-but of liberty throughout the world. (Loud applause. at the same time purging the issues of national life, In this city he was received with the strongest demo and preparing them to be issues for national freedom. strations of regard, Gen. Fremont doing himself great In accord with the first resolution proposed to-day, I honor in presiding on the occasion. (Applause.) Then reverently recognize the hand of God, and thank Him Mr. Thompson proceeded to Philadelphia, and then for his faithfulness to the poor bound slave. Thanks to Washington, where the President of the United for war even, if it bring liberty. In the colored peo- States, the Vice-President, and the most distinguishple's name, whom, in part, I represent, I thank you, ed-members of both Houses of Congress, united in giv Mr. President, for your earnest and able support in ing him a cordial, honorable welcome, recognizing his their uplifting. Thanks, that amid obloquy, danger labors in the past, and claiming him to be the friend of and death, you were unawed. Thanks, that in the America and free institutions. I now introduce Old World and in the New, you would be heard. May GEORGE THOMPSON.

#### SPEECH OF GEORGE THOMPSON.

eventful life shall have come, they will be surrounded Mr. Thompson, on rising, was greeted with the most cordial and hearty applause, and was evidentwith a halo of glory all the more brilliant, because you abored to release those whom others had bound, and ly laboring under strong emotion when he began to speak. He said : What shall I say to your coadjutors upon this plat-

Mr. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN : It extremely embarrassing for me to attempt to speak un whom will follow me? Par nobile fratrum. One in der circumstances like the present. There have been the Old World and the other in the New. Both the times in the past when my humble labors, in the mids polished, unbending defenders of liberty here—both of contumely and persecution, may have been of the implacable foes of tyranny everywhere. But for some slight service to the great cause; but I come to George Thompson, I may add, that India in the West you now under such different circumstances, and find and India in the East—Great Britain in the mists of the North, and this great nation, the child of Great remark, that I scarcely ever rise to speak when I have Britain, in the clear sky of the farther South—will, to-not first to overcome the embarrassment which is gether, weave a chaplet for him while living, and will caused by the necessity laid upon me of listening to I cannot appropriate.

every land he did what he could, in the homes of the rich and the huts of the poor, to give Liberty back to I well remember the time to which Mr. Garriso the world as she came from God, fair and pure as an alludes. It is about thirty-one years ago since he, an angel, unmarred by sorrow, untouched by crime, un-American, and I, an Englishman, shook hands upon the pavement of a street in London. I dare say he To all the members of this Society-to the men and has not forgotten that day. I can never forget it, for women-from a full heart, and from a people whose it decided the current of my future life. Had we not But, in conclusion, from this table-land of rest this It was that meeting that brought me to your shores norning, we see all over the vast plains before us, that and now that I stand once more upon the platform o there is work to be done. It is well to look backward the American Anti-Slavery Society, I cannot say that over the work of thirty-one years, but we must look I feel myself a stranger. This Society was talked of forward as well. There is work to be done. Slavewith me, and frequently, before it was brought into exis not dead yet, for all the songs we hear chantistence. When it was formed, at that ever memora ed over its grave-and your work, sir, and mine, and ble gathering in the city of Philadelphia, and whe

the work of all of us, is to throttle it where it lives, and give it no quarter until we drive it from the land. lished, I took that Declaration of Sentiments, and car-Your national danger, as has been well intimated, is ried it through the length and breadth of my native not rebellion-that can be met and overthrown-but country, and I made the names of the illustrious med the manner of dealing with the rebellion. Your dan- and women who adopted or subscribed that documen familiar as household words in the homes of England very would always go under. J. M. Mason, the au- and when I came to this country, and before I had thor of the Fugitive Slave Bill, when visiting, years been a week in it, in a place very near to this, and ago, a house in New Jersey where I slept the other in a small back room, where sat the now venera night, admitted that Slavery and Liberty were not ble and venerated Arthur Tappan, and the gentleman equals-but that the thrift of the North was the thrift who sits at my side (Mr. Rankin)-whom I recogniz of Freedom. Slavery must thus always go under. with unmistakable pleasure to-day; for his house was the first into which I was received in this country (applause)-there in that small room, at the hands I have been asked to describe slavery. If I were a Mr. Arthur Tappan, and subscribed by the officers of painter. I would attempt it. I would erect in the cor- the Society-Mr. Rankin at that time being one-I ner there a huge engine, working from daylight to received my credentials as an agent of the Anti-Slav dark, and from dark to daylight, busy, busy, busy, with ry Society. As its agent, and performing the daties its iron arms crushing the body and the soul. I would of a devoted and most obedient agent, I remained in place beyond it the remains of the victims who have this country until that time came which has been re already passed through the machine-already has it ferred to by Mr. Garrison, when, not from any shrink destroyed its millions-and even now there are hun- ing on my part, but too much love on the part of my dreds of thousands chained for its murderous purposes. friends, I left their country for my own. I call the lerous members of this Society to witness, that wherever I wheels creak over the bones of innocent men, and wo- have been, I have stood by the Society unswervingly men, and children! And there I would dig a pool upholding its principles and doing justice to its fid nearly filled with clotted blood, that its stench might ty under all circumstances. (Applause.) The princi come up continually to remind us of the cruelties of ples of that Society were mine before it came into exis slavery. And there I would make the entrance to tence; I had carried those principles through Grea tomb and part prison, leading on and on to the Mex- Britain, and their triumph was drawing near whet ican Gulf. With the living slave I would place the that meeting took place between me and my friend mangled remains, the heart's best affections, the un- to which both he and I have made reference. By realized desire, the hope for freedom, the aspiration those principles you have stood, unchanging and tru for a higher existence and manhood. I would raise to the present hour. For this you are honored. The over it a mound, and I would picture some one like men and the women of this Society, who were with Lovejoy, and Work, and Burr, and Thompson, and it in its earliest existence, and have remained with it Torrey, and John Brown, walking among the graves, until this hour, are honored in England as no other rolling away the stone from the door of the prison-sepulchre, and letting in the light of freedom. And and if you want to evoke the shouts and plaudits of there I would show relentless persecution following an English assembly, utter not the names that stand them : Lovejoy with a rifle, Work and Torrey with highest among you in literature, in art, in politics, a penitentiary sentence, George Thompson and others in wealth—no, but speak the name of some humble mobs, and Wm. Lloyd Garrison with a rope man or humble woman, who, taking his or her life in around his neck, and a prison for his home. I would erect in the centre there a heartless, hellish image, claimed in the ears of this nation the great principle erect in the centre there a heartless, hellish image, with a giant's strength, a scorpion's sting, and a hye-on which this association stands to-day—slavery is a

na's heart, to clutch each of us as we entered those doors, and in his lap a huge cup to receive your hard earnings, as the daily demand of the demon to sustain his system. I would crown him king. I would then

I come again, and what do I see? When I left you, close up every window here but one, that the darkness might go on, with only light enough to make it more dismal. I would then go up and down the land, and bring men and women to see it as it is—until its im—

in the college, everywhere, slavery was predominant, the Capitol. They thought it was ten words for the changed. You were one; you are two. You were coaxing, promising, cajoling, too much of the spirit of a congeries of commonwealths, but one confederate concession; and above all, they thought it strange that Republic; you are now divided into the United States and the Confederate States; you have two Presidents, two Constitutions, two Congresses, two armies. All is divided. What has done this? Slavery—simply and Well, they looked again, and there came a voice solely, slavery! And it was necessary and natural that it should be so. Mr. Phillips, by the use of one of Mr. Seward; and they said: "You must not talk those striking images which no man knows so well against slavery; you must not encourage the idea that how to use as himself, has shown you that you at slavery will be abolished; you must not tolerate the tempted, in the beginning, to reconcile things which mention of slavery in your conversation with the min ere in their nature wholly irreconcilable, antagonis- isters of foreign powers; you must declare that this tic, always and ever at war. You were trying to unite good with evil; light with darkness; truth with false-hood; Christ with Belial; the divine spirit of freedom not like that. Then they did not like to see your newswith the infernal spirit of slavery. You tried to do this. You were shown repeatedly that the thing was impossible; still you tried again. You conceded, you were disturbing the counsels at Washington, that they compromised, you consented, you supported, you were injuring the influence of Mr. Lincoln, that they were accomplices, you were abettors, you would learn were preventing men from joining the army, because no lesson; and so at last the system that you thought they were representing that the abolition to uphold and to perpetuate has been smitten-smit- was one of the objects of the war. I tell you, even ten as with the lightnings of heaven—and you must your Republican press did much to repress the symbuild again-how, my honored friend, and the most gift- pathy of the English people by their abuse of the Abo ed champion of the negro, has shown you this morning. God grant that his advice may be taken! (Applause.) rendition of fugitive slaves, by the soldiers and officers No more compromise; no more acknowledgment of of the United States; and then the modification of Gen. the right of property in man; no more degrada- Fremont's proclamation in Missouri, the treatment of tion of an immortal, rational creature of God down to Gen. Hunter, Gen. Phelps, and others, the "ironthe condition of four-footed beasts-a chattel personal. hand" ordinance of Gen. McClellan in Western Vir No; be it done sooner or later-be it done by Mr. ginia-these things startled the anti-slavery people of Lincoln or by his successor-it must be done. You England. Their sympathies were ready to gush forth, must finish the work you have begun. You must but they could not find vent, while as yet it seemed 'lay righteousness to the line, and judgment to the not only that you were not going to abolish slavery met," and you must present the negro of America to the eyes of man and of angels like yourselves to fling over the black man if you could secure the res

I thank Mr. Phillips for his speech this morning. I everything, and would save the cause of the negro from Far from it. Such matters belong to you, and not to a man as much better than Mr. Lincoln as a man may be; but I pray Heaven he may not be a worse. (Applause.) But you will perhaps allow me to say that eniently of men after they get into office. Some few into the Cabinet, become part and parcel of the Administration. I do not think them worse men than they were before; I do not think they have abandoned their been much hampered and fettered by going into office. its responsibilities, and found they had to administer of December, 1862. (Loud applause.)
the government for the entire country, to consult the Now the message that I have from England to you, wishes, opinions and views of all men, to balance the I can deliver in one word. They ask you to carry on cile, and conflicting counsels to listen to, they learned ion of power, and exceedingly pleasant to deliver eloquent denunciations upon abstract principles,

I know, save one-I mean John Bright. (Loud a are, whom the very name frights from their propriety. looked into the history of your rebellion, and I believe more to follow his advice, so that the time may come lion. John Bright is the friend of the working classes of England. He desires to see them enfranchised, and he has from time to time prepared bills, with a view to neither a tyrant wielding a cart-whip nor a negro wearobtaining acts in Parliament that should enfranchise the unfranchised masses of the people; and I well remember that upon one occasion, when he had prepared such a bill and resolved to bring it into Parliament, consultation was held with the members of the Adminsuch a measure, the leading features of which they stated at the meeting, and that, if he brought his in there would be a collision between the one measure the measure of the government did not, by any means. of justice, and then make the admission of that measure

charge their duties honestly and efficiently, and at the

btain the whole. (Applause.) lowever, how matters look to us on the other side of by the great points that come out from time to time. Four years ago, as I have said; slavery was omnipotent. ister to the Court of St. James, your minister to the man who made those appointments, or the man and So help us God! Senate together who made them, as men who, unlike Then, again, in the warfare, as it has been carried their predecessors, are now administering the affairs of on, the Administration has been not only at Washing-your country in the spirit of equal and impartial lib-ton. It has been acknowledged here that woman has

limited powers of your Executive, and the rights of standard of liberty and truth high as in the beginning your individual States, they expected that Mr. Lincoln, and if in thus holding it up, it shall become the duty chair, and armed not only with the constitution pow-ers enjoyed and exercised by every President, but nos-are senjoyed and exercised by every President, but nos-sensing all the powers vested in him, in the last resort, the Cabinet, not even as John Bright was; that we are nmander-in-Chlef-they expected, I say, that he not respon

olute. I come again, and find all South to one for the North; that there was too much

war will not change the status of a single negro; that litionists. Then there were constant instances of the -a man; nothing better, and nothing worse. (Loud toration of the Union and the re-establishment of the Shall I tell you when it was that the reaction in your

am not going to refer to his criticisms, to say how far favor took place? It commenced with the message of they are necessary or justified; but I thank him for your President of the 7th of March, 1862, when I this, that throughout his speech, it was not that he op-posed Mr. Lincoln or his Administration so much as promising indemnity to the planters of the slave States that he loved the negro and the cause of justice above if, in their State Legislatures, they would take means to abolish slavery. And then you know what a conperil and disaster. (Applause.) But we in England are stellation of measures gathered around that first meawont to deal with public men somewhat-I will not say sure. The abolition of slavery in the District; the more justly, for that would be to impugn the justice of the salvation of those great North-western territories the criticisms of Mr. Lincoln-but permit me to say we from the pollution and curse of slavery; and then the judge them more leniently. I, through thirty-five recognition of Hayti and Liberia, so that either of these years of incessant agitation, have learned this lesson, that men in office cannot always do what they would. (Applause.) Now, do not imagine that I am going to make a Presidential speech, to nominate a candidate, the President on the occasion of a levee, and stand on to counsel you as to the course you should pursue, or a footing of perfect equality with the palest and the to act the presumptuous part of an adviser in respect proudest representatives of the oldest monarchies of to your nominations in the pending election campaign. Europe. (Applause.) Then came other measures unding the order that fugitive slaves should me. My prayer is that you may choose the right man : be delivered up; the Confiscation law; the preliminary proclamation of September, 1862; and when that past, and weeks went by, and the hundred days of grace had nearly passed, without the South availing herself of we have been taught in England to judge somewhat the proffered amnesty—as every well-informed man in England knew she would not-we did not wait for the friends of mine, during the last three years, have gone | mail to bring us the news that President Lincoln had confirmed that proclamation. No, we held watch meet" great meeting was held in Free Trade Hall, in Man principles. I think they love the old cause to which chester, and another in Sheffield-and kept up the disthey were formerly devoted, but I know they have cussion on American affairs until 12 o'clock, and then thanked God that there were three million less slaves I know that, from the moment they entered office, felt in the United States than there had been on the 31st

strength and influence of one party over against the this good work to completion. They ask you to do all strength and influence of another, to do justice to their that Mr. Phillips has said should be done; to give to opponents as well as to their friends, to work with the the negro in the United States the rights that he now elements that they had, and not with the elements that possesses in the West Indies, where he is not only free they had not, that they had clashing interests to recon- from oppressive chains, but where he can become freeholder and a voter, claim and obtain a seat in the that while it was very easy, upon the opposition bench, to arraign the incumbent Prime Minister, and those in Governor of Jamaica, Mayor of Kingston, and be knighted by the Queen. And I am not now quoting things that may be, but things that have been, as your and demand great, sweeping and uncompromising re- President well knows. They ask you to put the ne forms, it was another and very different thing to dis- gro in this position. It is for you as Americans to judge charge their duties honestly and efficiently, and at the same time advance in some humble degree the cause but this I say—and I say it with some knowledge of to which they had been devoted when out of office. the state of things in my own country-that for what (Loud applause.)

I will take, by way of illustration, the case of a man coln has won for himself universal gratitude and uniwho comes nearer to an American in his idea of the versal praise; and there is not a name to conjure with beau ideal of political institutions than any Englishman so powerful in England as the name of Abraham Lincoln. (Enthusiastic plause.) John Bright goes for "God and Democracy." like him, to rid your land of this curse and scandal. I John Bright is not afraid of rebellion, as some people thank God for men like Wendell Phillips, (loud applause,) who will stand upon this platform, and say what He is not afraid of it. He traces most of the good he has said this morning. That Republic will never things we enjoy in England from rebellion. He has fail that has a man like Wendell Phillips, and many that, like myself, he has exulted in the good that has when slavery shall cease, the proscription of the black already resulted to this mighty nation from that rebel- man shall cease, the debt shall be paid, the tears shall be wiped away, and America, from North to South, from East to West, shall be hallowed ground, with ing a chain. (Prolonged applause.)

## SPEECH OF LUCRETIA MOTT

I shall detain the meeting but a few moments. only wish to express the great interest I have taken istration and other friends, and being informed by the in the several speeches that have been made, and to say that I wanted one word should be added, before the meeting closed, in behalf of the warfare which has been carried on by this Society from this platform, and which has resulted, as I believe, in the great change of and the other, and probably the loss of both : although public sentiment which has been alluded to. The evils hour of this meeting, but, as was well expressed, they he case, nor satisfy the demands which the radical are inevitable, because we know that war, being party had made, Mr. Bright consented to sacrifice his evil, must produce evil, and that continually; still, I opularity with his radical friends outside and go with would say, I had hoped that better things would a the government, in the hope that, if he could not ob- company our salvation, and the salvation of the coun tain all he desired, he might at least obtain a measure try, so that another generation, following this, might be born into a Republic far transcending the Re of fustice the vantage ground from which to proceed to public that grew out of the Revolutionary war; because the war is now carried on by a people differing I merely throw this out as a hint. I may tell you, very much from the people of that time; an intelligent instructed people, who have had the advantages of a the water. We judge of the progress of this country Republic so far; and when peace shall be restored, they will be prepared to come forward and act unitedly to re move the many evils and wrongs that remain, and the It controlled both your domestic and foreign policy; it mighty debt which has accumulated in the nation. And appointed your ambassadors; it delegated your judg:s then the war has not been a warfare of brute force to the bench; in fact, it ruled the country. We look merely, and the materials that will be brought in with now, and see an altered state of things. We look over which to build up the Republic will be very different Europe, and see that whereas every one of your em- from the materials that were at command after the firs ployees at foreign courts was formerly a friend and ad- war of our country. We shall have a free, liberated rocate of slavery, every one, be he your respected min- people, rather than an agreement that a large portion shall still be held as slaves; there will not be, there Court of Paris, or Vienna or Berlin, or St. Petersburg, fore, that great drawback to our nation's prosperity or your consul at Liverpool or at London, is now the Let us, then, hope that in spite of the evils of this war friend and champion of liberty. (Applause.) Seeing there is a day approaching when the Republic will b this, the people of England say, "Things are mightily changed in the United States," and they look upon the

had something to do with it; that woman has been co At the beginning of this war, knowing little of the operating in the warfare which has been going on. I people of this country, and still less of the structure of am desirous that our Anti-Slavery Society, in its an your government, the nature of your Constitution, the | nual meetings, and in all its meetings, should keep the who had sent these men abroad-men who appeared men like Wendell Phillips to present the errors and to be so good and so true-being in the Presidential short-comings of the Administration, let them do it; chair, and armed not only with the constitutional pow- and let us rejoice that we, as a Society, are not part sible; that we have not any load upon our would at once abolish slavery. He did not do it. They shoulders that shall tend in any way to make us comthought him bound to do it; he did not do it. Contra- promise. Let us be careful how we commit ourselves, iwise, they did not like his speech from the steps of as a body, as a Society, to one candidate or anothe

We are in danger of becoming partisans in our feeling by holding up one man or crying down another, any further than their acts warrant us in doing so. I wish u could hold up Fremont a little more for the act he did (applause,) but I am glad to hear Abraham Line (application), our last now, for the many things held up, as we many unique, he has fallen short, it is a he has done; and duty to rebuke him. It is our duty to ocraelast keep the standard high, and to bring the acts of a classes, even of Kings and Governors, to the to

I only rose with the desire to express this, and hold out the hope that we are coming to a great ad hold out the hope that the believe, whatever belong the great moral warfare of the nation will be a the great moral warrante of the manual was seen mended, not to us, a handful of abolitionists mended. but to the great heart of the people. A proof of his is seen in the willingness, on the part of the people, sign petitions and send them forth, and to join in the battle armed in the full armor of God; not depart ing on carnal weapons-knowing, however, that the hings must needs be, in a government based, at our is, and as all nations are, upon the sword-not in pending on horses and chariots, but depending on the ord God; and, going forth with these wear know they will be effective. Let our faith being then, that they will ever be effective; we can us anticipate fearful, deplorable results from such a van fare, because it has its origin in God, in goodness, it love, in plainness of speech, in justice and mercy at I never had anything more to confirm my him ;

the infinite and the eternal than the success of our weapons of warfare, wielded as they have been, more illy, in season and out of season, full of fight as up have been, using the severest language that our de tionary could furnish us with, or that our thought sould bring forth, to describe the monster slavery. remember that Wm. Lloyd Garrison, in his first work almost - " Thoughts on Colonization" - remark that when Wilberforce spoke against the African sie trade, how vituperative his language was considbut now," said he, "when the scorn of the who civilized world is brought against this iniquitous tem, how mild and inefficient his speeches do appear So with us; we were afraid to use the word " stealers" in the beginning; we had been accustom to speak soft words; but we found that the necessi was laid upon us, from the fact that we had to sper of slavery as it was; to hold it up to the utter exec tion of mankind, and to enlist the pulpit and the prein behalf of the suffering and the dumb. I say kis this great moral warfare that has been carried on, that has produced this wonderful change which we are now rejoicing in; and I only desire that we may be just true as Wendell Phillips has been to-day, not prising men unduly because they have done something to demanding that they should do the whole. And he not let us be so distrustful of human nature, of the good heart in man, at to suppose that if men has one wrong, they have done as nearly right as the could. Why, human nature judges what is right Let us have confidence in the human heart. Eve the Herald came out in defence of Fremont's proclamation, and the people were ready to say Amer But we are too much accustomed yet, as our fries said they are in England, to honor people in offer We know them-we know how loyal they are; he we, the people here, we are the administration. man is taking her place-here is Susan B. Antho calling attention to the Women's National League and the men and women united, the people united, as to become the administration of our country; and the we shall look on these petty servants of our that ar n office, and while we shall give them all the honor they deserve, we shall feel that we must honor mos MAN : MAN, wherever he is found : MAN-the black man and the white man; yes, and woman, too. (Ap

The choir and audience then united in singing the Doxology, which closed the exercises of the morning

From all that dwell below the skies, Let the Creator's praise arise; Let the Redeemer's name be sung Through every land, by every tongue

Eternal are Thy mercies, Lord; Thy praise shall sound from shore to shore, Till sums shall rise and set no more.

## BUSINESS MEETINGS

TUESDAY EVENING, May 10 Room of the Church of the Puritans, and was called to order by THOMAS GARRETT of Delaware, one of the

The attendance of members and friends of the Society from different portions of the cou On motion of SAMUEL MAY, Jr., of Boston, AARON M. POWELL, of New York, was appointed Secretar, The following committees were also appointed:

Business Committee-Wendell Phillips, J. Miller Mo Kim, Oliver Johnson, Lucretia Mott, Mary Grev. Finance Committee-E. D. Draper, of Mass., Susan

R. Anthony, of N. Y. Committee on Nominations-Samuel May, Jr., Mass., Thomas Garrett, of Del., Aaron E. Powell, of N. Y., Rowland Johnson, of N. J., Edward M. Daris, of Pennsylvania.

On motion of OLIVER JOHNSON, a rule was adopted. miting speakers to ten minutes. Mr. GARRISON then read the series of resolution

Nos. 1 to 7 offered at the morning meeting. PARKER PILLSBURY then offered the following reslutions, upon which no action was taken by the 80

Resolved, That the mode of reconstruction of the government in Louisiana, under the Amnesty Prochnation, proves that the Administration is willing not determined, to sacrifice the interest and the lim f the North, as well as to peril the whole cause of ju tice and freedom, to secure a sham peace: risking thereby the admission to Congress of a Southern element, able to embarrass if not control its action; an leaving the whole colored population, and the control of the Southern States, in the hands of an uner heartless and slavery-loving aristocracy. No do we hear or see any spoken or written protests is the Republican party, or the popular pulpits, of such tone of character as to arrest public attention, and save the ountry from so dire a calamity.

Resolved, That in view of the momentous interest involved in the reconstruction of the government and Union, we earnestly recommend the support of only such party or candidates as are openly and most si equivocally committed—1st, To the entire abolit lavery. 2, Such constitutional amendments of end ments as shall forever prohibit its establishment, si secure the equal and inslicnable rights of all men be fore the law, without distinction of complexion

STEPHEN S. FOSTER proposed that resolution No. e so amended as to read, "So that the 'old coresis with death' is annulled, and the 'agreement will bell' no longer stands." The amendment was sales quently withdrawn by Mr. FOSTER, but again broad before the meeting on motion of EDMUND QUINCT, En-for discussion. A prolonged and somewhat desulted discussion then followed upon the present relati slavery to the Constitution, and the respons the government for its continued existence. The meeting was successively addressed by Ret David Root, Jacob L. Paxson of Pa., Wendell Phillips

Edward Gilbert, Esq., Henry C. Wright, George Thompson, Mr. Garrison, and Aaron M. Powell. Rev. Mr. Roor considered the country as expenng the jndgment of God. We are a very corrupt pople: Our flagrant wickedness and cruel persecution the colored people must be repeated of. He was the

wed by Mr. Paxsox of Pa.
WENDELL PHILLIPS hoped the amendment would not be adopted. So long as slavery was tolerated of the government refused to repeal the Fugitive Slave law, the covenant had not been annulled.

EDWARD GILBERT, Esq., advocated the anti-state.

haracter of the Constit

MAS ortions and street HENRY C. WR the anti-slavery n ional power to But now, by virte thrown, and we, th dent, as our agen GEORGE THOM regarded, our Con ourselves, affording tions towards slav Mr. GARRISON ress were now w entire overth

called upon by the ous opportunity to AARON M. Po storince of the wa ess to entirely a fulf States, while have been done a tution be explicitly ettling the entire rery anywhere, he as only anspended in the slaveholding Prociamation of Ja therefore urged th WESDELL PHIL

ence of phraseolog, should be visited u It was then vote mit the resolut The following p Committee : EDM GARRISON, PARKE After a song by

The Society re-A. M.-the PRESI following report : The Treasurer's howing the finan May, 1868, to May,

To Publishing Star Agents, and To Balance to new ing that though the

s more favorable t

centary support is !

Treasurer's report

Mr. GARRISON, fr by Mr. QUINCY, an STEPHEN S. FOR Whereas, by th rendered void, and annulled and our ag Resolved, That a

tation by the Feder

vice to the cause of famy than that of an Dr. CROWELL be for a sinful people. very for loyal men. thing for the emerge he would be glad. the anti-slavery stre vigilance unto the e a severer grasp than

Dr. Townsend d lution-the last clau that the present Adv than any which ha PHILLIPS's charge u ference or unfriendli He instanced the estr churches. Mr. Line iest than he would ficult. It was for method to adopt. W had not been a little President Lincoln, b most favorably now. HENRY C. WRIGH ment and administra He held the people p

of government, while

elected, were respons

people. Progress he tion. Let the govern the responsibility res narily upon the peop duties under g momentous circumstr well. The contrast treachery was great.

proclaimed free, and
would be maintained the Supreme Court. PARKER PILLSBU! rprise as a sublime its power. Numerics had been a mighty moral position. He la ministry because he truth and justice. bess and fidelity of t his best offering, and ed as best he could holy, imperilled cause been told to stand by nistration does no does, God being my j then. He did not bel far and as fast as the referred to the modif

breeds" were born. dent, but rejoiced in form whereon, with This Society that it be not led into tion careless of the free its efficiency is in its the fidelity of Abolitic WILLIAM A. JACI

MILIAM A. JACI man) addressed the man) addressed the tas so much had been fle awarded much put thought he would m another four years. ments for the coming the State of Maine.

AARON M. POWELI Of the series.)

sans in our feelings down another, any doing so. I wish we e for the act he did, r Abraham Lincoln he many things that illen short, it is our inty to surselves to ring the acts of all

Y 20.

express this, and to ming to a great and hatever belongs to ation will be combolitionists merely, ie. A proof of this art of the people, to and to join in the God; not depend. however, that these ment based, as ours the sword—not deut depending on the these weapons, we tour faith be firm, ctive; we can sever

its from such a war-God, in goodness, in stice and mercy and confirm my faith in the success of our mey have been, mor-n, full of fight as we niguage that our dicthat our thoughts monster slavery. I zation" — remarked nat the African slave age was conside scorn of the whole t this iniquitous sysspeeches do appear."
use the word "mennad been accustomed nd that the necessity that we had to speak p to the utter execrapulpit and the press he dumb. I say it is

been carried on, that hat we may be just as n to-day, not praising done something, bu the whole. And do se that if men hav nearly right as they udges what is right. human heart. Even ce of Fremont's proready to say Amen! ed yet, as our friend onor people in office. loyal they are; but administration. Wo-'s National Leaguethe people united, are our country; and then e them all the hone we must honor most and; MAN—the black and woman, too. (Ap-

united in singing the reises of the morning: he skies, ry tongue.

TINGS. EVENING, May 10. siness in the Lect tans, and was called to Delaware, one of the and friends of the Sothe country was large

Jr., of Boston, AARON appointed Secretary re also appointed : Phillips, J. Miller Me Mott, Mary Grew. aper, of Mass., Suss Aaron E. Powell, of N.

Edward M. Davis, of on, a rule was adopte e series of resolutions ning meeting. fered the following res

was taken by the Se

er the Amnesty Procisnistration is willing, interest and the ho the whole cause of just a sham peace: riskin ress of a Southern e control its action; an nds of an unscrup aristocracy. No do w ten protests in the pulpits, of such tone of attention, and save the

y. he momentous interes of the government and the support of only re openly and most un To the entire abolition o al amendments or case t its establishment, an le rights of all men ction of complexion ed that resolution No.

o that the 'old coverant amendment was sub STER, but again brot EDMUND QUINCY, Esq. and somewhat desulto the present relations the present relations and the responsibility of used existence. rely addressed by Rev. of Ps., Wendell Phillips Y C. Wright, George Aaron M. Powell. the country as expe e are a very corrupt per and cruel persecuti

the amendment would very was tolerated or the

nulled. Ivocated the anti-slav The President deserved

reachment that he had not summoned to freedom perchinent cast as and by so much reduced the prons and strength of the rebellion. ertions and strength of the repetition.
REFET C. WEIGHT said we assumed at the outset of BESSET C. IT MICHAEL SHE ARE RESIDENCE AT the outset of the anti-stavery movement that we mad no constitual power to interior war power, it might be over

But 80 W, by virtue of the war power, it might be over-thrown, and we, the people, should demand of the Presplot, as our agent, its entire destruction. of as our agent, its clime over uction. regarded our Constitution as usually interpreted by res, affording protection to slavery, but they now beld the United States to be absolved from all obliga held the united states and except to complete its destruc-

Mr. GARRISON argued that the President and Con Mr. GARRISON rested with the necessary power for entire overthrow of slavery, and they should be the entire overtile people to use it. It was a glorion opportunity to rid the country of the pestilence d cerse of slavery, and should be promptly im-

AARON M. POWELL thought it fully within the perface of the war power for the President and Conrest to entirely abolish slavery in the Border as in the States, while the war was in progress. It should have been done at the outset. But, until the Constination be explicitly amended in the interest of liberty, utiling the entire question of the legal existence of all ry anywhere, he regarded our covenant with slavery stry my spended during the continuance of the war. In the slaveholding districts outside the limits of the ciamation of Jan. 1, 1863, it is not yet annulled. He therefore urged the prohibitory constitutional amend-

Waynell Phillips said it was essentially a differ see of phrascology, and not as to the doom which should be visited upon slavery, that had prevailed in

It was then voted, on motion of Mr. QUINCY, to remit the resolution to report again to-morrow morn-

The following persons were added to the Busine Committee: EDMUND QUINCY, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, PARKER PILLSBURY. After a song by JAMES G. CLARK, the meeting ad-

WEDNESDAY MORNING, May 11. The Society re-assembled for business at 10 o'clock. A W \_the PRESIDENT in the chair.

OUVERJOHNSON read in behalf of the Treasurer the The Treasurer's account gives the following figures showing the financial condition of the Society from May, 1863, to May, 1864.

. \$ 4,154 55 By Balance from old account \$ 4,154 55 By Receipts from donations, subscriptions to Standard, and sale of publications 11,334 18

DR.

To Publishing Standard, for Lecturing Agents, and Office expenses -To Balance to new account

\$15,488 73 After brief remarks from SAMUEL MAY, Jr., showing that though the financial condition of the Society is more favorable than a year ago, still that liberal peemiary support is highly important and desirable, the

10 649 57

Treasurer's report was adopted.

Mr. Garrison, from the Business Committee, report ed resolution No. 1, without the amendment proposed by Mr. Quixer, and instead of the amendment, a supplemental resolution-No. 2 of the series. STEPHEN S. FOSTER then offered the following res-

Whereas, by the insurrection of the Confederate States, all constitutional guarantees of slavery were rendered void, and our old covenant with death was anulled, and our agreement with hell no longer stands;

Resolved, That all subsequent support of the institation by the Federal government is a gratuitous ser vice to the cause of despotism and disloyalty, which stamps the present Administration with a deeper infamy than that of any of its predecessors.

Dr. CROWELL believed the war was God's discipline rasiaful people. Still the nation holds hard to slavery for loyal men. If this Society could frame some thing for the emergency to be sanctioned by Congress would be glad. He admired the moral grandeur of the anti-slavery struggle, and hoped there would be viplance unto the end. Escaped slaves were still re turned to pretended loyalists, and such men clung with 1 severer grasp than hitherto to their victims. The

It is God's on Dr. Townsend dissented from Mr. FOSTER's resohim-the last clause. It was untruthful to affirm that the present Administration was more infamous than any which had preceded it. He thought Mr. PHILLIPS's charge upon the Administration, of indiference or unfriendliness to the negro, too unqualified. astanced the establishment of asylums, schools and charches. Mr. Lincoln, as President, had been more tenient than he would have been. Retaliation was dif-It was for those who criticise to suggest a method to adopt. What should that method be ? He ad not been a little dissatisfied and impatient with President Lincoln, but, on the whole, he regarded him

Bost favorably now. HENRY C. WRIGHT thought the terms of governent and administration were too often confounded. the held the people primarity responsible as the source government, while the Administration, the officers acted, were responsible as agents and servants of the peole. Progress has been made in the right direcn. Let the government be freely criticised, but let the responsibility rest in the right place, which is primarily apon the people. Mr. Lincoln commenced his theial duties under great disabilities, and, taking all the nous circumstances into account, he had done The contrast with Buchanan's imbecility and hery was great. Thousands of slaves had been ned free, and the validity of the proclamation fold be maintained. The people themselves were Supreme Court.

PARKER PILLSBURY spoke of the anti-slavery en-Therein was power. Numerically it had always been weak. It al been a mighty power in the land because of its stal position. He had early left the church and the try because he found there so little devotion to and justice. Attracted by the moral earnests and fidelity of this Society, he had brought to it in hest offering, and in conjunction with it had laboru best he could to promote the welfare of God's imperilled cause of justice and liberty. We had and hild to stand by the Administration. The Addistration does not stand by the slave. When it God being my judge, I will stand by it-not till a. He did not believe the President had gone as and as fast as the people would have sustained. He the modification Fremont's and Hunter's sations. When they were silenced, "Copper the were born. He had never voted for a Presibut rejoiced in the prospect of a political platin whereon, without compromise, a man could said. This Society should look well to its ways, be it be not led into the service of an Administra in receise of the freedom and justice for oppressed la efficiency is in its moral carnestness and integrity ANYLEMAN in the audience, while he admired Melity of Abolitionists in moral agitation, thought should have done their whole duty by going to

MILIAN A. JACKSON (Jefferson Davis's coachan addressed the meeting briefly. He rejoiced for much had been accomplished for the enslaved. le marked much praise to President Lincoln, and high he would make a very good President for butter four years. His own electioneering arrangehas for the coming campaign were already made in

ALION M. POWELL then offered the following (No.

He did not regard it as within the province of this Society to support, as a Society, any political party, or nominee for the Presidency, nor could it properly dictate a course of political action to its individual members. It was often brought as an objection against Abolitionists, that they had not gone to the polls with their testimony against slavery. He was willing to risk the verdict of history in their behalf, as an independent moral power in the nation. The moral valne of the anti-slavery movement cannot be over estimated, and its responsibilities have been well met. This crowning feature of our enterprise has still its high value, its sphere of great usefulness, and should be scrupulously cherished by us. To such as—apart from slavery—have no scruples against voting, and who now incline to use the ballot, we may properly address the exhortation to give their support only to such men and measures as will secure the total abolition of slavery, its prohibition by constitutional amendment, and the recognition, in reconstruction, of the citizenship of colored men, equal with white

ot and would not vote ought to say nothing upon coln had been implicated disgracefully and unwarrant public affairs. He had not voted himself, neither was ably in shielding slavery from that destruction which, Mr. Garrison a voter. Ought, therefore, their mouths to be closed? The non-voter was not necessarily deprived of influence and great usefulness in the sphere of FREMONT as one who would be a more trustworthy of politics. He affirmed his belief in the anti-slavery standard-bearer of the cause of Liberty and Union. character of the Constitution. But, at any rate, the MARY GREW said the great thing for us to remem war power warrants the entire destruction of slavery. He therefore defended the resolution he had offered, declaring the present Administration more infamous are still to pursue our work of watching in the slave's than any of its predecessors. It had the full power and opportunity to pronounce the doom of slavery, but had chosen rather to preserve and protect it to the sacred cause of liberty. We cannot yet disband wherever it assumed the guise of loyalty. Under our organization, and trust our work to others. We Mr. Lincoln's Administration, more fugitives have should all lament to descend to a mere party cause and been returned to slavery than any previous Adminis- caucus. Our division of sentiment is as to the best tration since the government was organized. The method of work. On the main question of fidelity to fact is indisputable, and yet, strange to say, Mr. Garrison is advocating the reëlection of Mr. Lincoln to er is a pledge of the faithful continuance of our labors. the Presidency! Under the testimony of Mr. Sumner and others, we are told that slave-hunting is still pros- mittee were then adopted : ecuted with the sanction and authority of the government. No previous Administration had ever had so ciety would, on this occasion, reverently recognize the favorable an opportunity to distinguish itself in the hand of God in the present rebellion as a merited chasservice of freedom and justice. Yet no Administratisement for our great national sin of chattel slavery; tion had exceeded the present in its fidelity to slave- and deems it matter of thankfulness, now that He had ry and slave-hunting. It was more infamous in the laid judgment to the line, and righteousness to the proportion that its opportunities for noble action had been greater.

MR. GARRISON (EDMUND QUINCY, Esq., in the place chair) next addressed the meeting. He criticised Mr. Foster's resolution as absurdly assuming a covenant is exclusively and avowedly the uprising of a slave to be annulled, which he has told us he did not him- holding oligarchy in the interests of their demoniaca self believe ever had an existence. Mr. Lincoln's Ad- slave system, and for the utter subversion of all free ministration, characterized as more infamous than institutions, therefore the old "covenant with death' any of its predecessors, has done all, and more than is annulled, and the "agreement with hell" no longer all, that the people, as a whole, have asked for. It stands; and it is now the primary, paramount and conhas abolished slavery in the rebellious States. It has STITUTIONAL duty of the government, through Conarmed and equipped thousands of colored men as soldiers. Apart from the old Abolitionists, there was no out all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof." And general demand for a proclamation of Emancipation, to hesitate to strike this decisive blow, whether through or for the arming of the negroes. Mr. Lincoln was blindness or timidity, is not only to prolong the war not therefore to be charged with not being up with but to make a few questionable exceptions of slavehold the people. He had been true to his own convictions ing loyalty in the Border States the dominant power e extent he might interfere with slavery. He over the destiny of the republic, and to render the re-(Mr. Lincoln) did not accept the Constitution as in- construction of the Union upon the solid basis of dem terpreted by Mr. Foster. He had been governed by ocratic equality impracticable and disastrous. military necessity as to what he had done, and also themselves the larger share of responsibility that themselves the larger share of responsibility that themselves the larger share of responsibility that is not done which might have been accomplished.

1. Resolved, That we hail, as the highest window, the purest patriotism, and the truest justice, the measure now before Congress for the immediate and utter sure now before Congress for the immediate and utter sure now before Congress for the country exin the rebellious States, the slave trade suppressed,

pointed in his Administration.

J. M. McKim thought freedom of debate had been again most fully vindicated in this meeting. He was all circumstances—anything in any State Constitution J. M. McKim thought freedom of debate had been glad it was so. There had been much unqualified condemnation which it should be borne in mind was not true criticism. He proceeded to answer some of the charges which had been urged against Mr. Lincoln by Mr. Phillips and others. A cashier of a bank, in the midst of a suffering and hungered people, though he was kindly disposed, and had in his keeping a large amount of money, would not be permitted or expected to disburse such funds on his own responsibility. Mr. Lincoln had wisely awaited the direction of events, and consulted the average desire of the people, so far as he could ascertain it. While opposed naturally to slavery, as he has told us in his letter to Mr. Hodges, limitations of his office he has rightly governed himself by what he has deemed the military necessities of the nation. Mr. McKim mentioned instances, in Maryland and elsewhere, in which the friendly influence of President Lincoln has been most potential

ly felt in behalf of the cause of freedom. WENDELL PHILLIPS was the next speaker. It was not the function of this Society, nor was it his own, to nominate a President. To my own mind, the slave's fate is yet an uncertainty. My dear and faithful friend (Mr. Garrison) differs. I would have sooner severed my right hand than taken the responsibility. There are no hundred men in the country whose united voices would be of equal importance in determining the future of the government and country. A mil lion dollars would have been a cheap purchase for the Administration of the Liberator's article on the Presidency. Mr. Lincoln's policy is to save the white slaveholder from all the barm possible. His philoso-phy does not recognize the manhood of the black man. The interests of liberty entrusted to his hands are therefore imperilled. Apart from justice to the negro a full and impartial recognition of the black element is indispensable to the elevation of the country. To this Mr. Lincoln is constitutionally averse. If with him the pegro men have freedom, he may not be admitted to citizenship. It is only freeing the negro, and then clothing him with the dignity and power of citizenship, that united stable government will in fu-

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., from the Committee on Nomina. tion of Officers for the ensuing year, made the following report, which was adopted:

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

Vice Presidents, Robert Purvis, Penn., LUTURE MELENDY, N. H. EDWARD M. DAVIS, " THOMAS WHITSON, JOHN M. HAWKS, " Joseph Moore, JEHIEL C. CLAPLIN, ROWLAND JOHNSON, N. J. N. R. Jounston, Vermont, JAMES HUTCHINSON, Jr., " ALFRED GIBBS CAMPBELL, EDMUND QUINCY, Mass. THOMAS GARRETT, Delaware. THOMAS DONALDSON, Ohio ASA FAIRBANKS, R. I. MARIUS R. ROBINSON, " WILLIAM HEARN, Indiana, JAMES WHITCOMB, Co WILLIAM HOPKINS, " SANUEL J. MAY, N. Y. CORNELIUS BRANHALL, THOMAS CHANDLER. AMY POST, CARVER TONLINSON, Illinois PLINT SEXTON, CALES GREEN, Minnesota, LYDIA MOTT, HENRY A. HARTT,

Corresponding Secretary, CHABLES C. BURLMIGH, Plorence, Mass Recording Secretary, WENDELL PRILLIPS, Boston. Treasurer,
William I. Bowditch, Boston

Executive Committee, WILLIAM LLOYD GARBIBON, SAMUEL MAY, Jr., EDMUND QUINCY, WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH CHARLES K. WHIPPLE, ANNE WARREN WESTON, HENRY C. WRIGHT, STENEY HOWARD GAY, EDMUNE JOHN T. SARGENT. EDMUND JACKSON.

LUCRETIA MOTT thought there had not been as much attention given to the consideration of our present and future responsibilities of labor as should have been in the course of the discussions. She exhorted all to continued faithfulness and activity in the use of our weapons of moral warfare.

EDWARD M. DAVIS spoke of the great responsibilities resting upon all in the present crisis. He had hoped much of Mr. Lincoln, but had been disappoint-STEPHEN S FOSTER commmented upon the remarks ed in him. He mentioned instances in Maryland and of a previous speaker, who thought that men who did elsewhere, in which the Administration of Mr. Lin-

The following resolutions from the Business Con

1. Resolved, That the American Anti-Slavery So

of lies, and the waters are overflowing the hiding-2. Resolved. That inasmuch as the present rebellion

3. Resolved, That, in the nature of things, Liberty what he had omitted to do, for the overthrow of slav- and Slavery must be in perpetual conflict, to the griev ery. The difficulties and embarrassments of his situation have been such as no man in that position has ever experienced. He deserves charitable and generous consideration, rather than wholesale, indiscrimitotal abolition of slavery, is essential to the attainment nate censure. It is for the people to take home to of peace, the unity of the republic, and the preserva-

well? Slavery abolished in the District of Columbia, empted from the application of the President's Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863; and that all Hayti and Liberia recognized, and thousands of col- honor is to be specially accorded to the Women's Loyal ored men in the Federal uniform as soldiers? Mar- League for the energy and perseverance they have dis vellous indeed have been the changes of the last three played in the circulation of petitions, (which have been years, affording substantial ground for encouragement numerously signed and presented,) asking Congress as to the speedy consummation of our work, the entire to lose no time in the adoption of that righteous measure; the consummation of which will be applauded MR. DINSMORE differed from Mr. Garrison, and by all who are truly loyal in the land, and by the friends

spoke in criticism of President Lincoln.

Dexter Fairbanks was surprised that old Abolitionists should advocate the reëlection of Mr. Lincoln.

5. Resolved, That as it has hitherto been held, under the Constitution of the United States, that every State coln. He himself voted for him, but had been disap. has a right to determine whether human chattelist shall find protection upon its soil, it is essential that that instrument should contain an article, expressly or State laws to the contrary notwithstanding; and, rejoicing in the recent action of the U.S. Senate, adopting such an amendment by a vote of 38 to 6, w trust it will be sanctioned with equal unanimity by the House of Representatives; believing that it will be duly ratified by the several States, and by an over whelming majority :- thus redeeming our nationa character from the infamy which slavery has brought upon it, and making our example potent in the over

throw of tyranny in every part of the globe. 6. Resolved, That the severest accusations ever brought against slavery as a system, and slaveholders as a body, by the Abolitionists, in regard to the former as being "the sum of all villanies," and to the latter as being sensual, brutal and ferocious towards the vic tims of their tyranny, have been fully sustained in the progress of the rebellion; the flend-like atrocities perrated upon the colored soldiers at Fort Pillow, Port Hudson, Fort Wagner, and other places, by the rebel forces, being the natural and inevitable effect of make ing man the property of man-denying to a race their ural and inalienable rights.

7. Resolved, That while the government may b sorely perplexed to decide what counteracting measures to institute, whereby these horrible excesses shall be stayed, it is nevertheless bound to give the amples protection to all who are fighting under its flag; and failing to do this, through irresolution or neglect, it will make itself base and contemptible in the eyes of the civilized world.

8. Resolved, That the late decision of Attorney General Bates, that no discrimination can be legally made between those who, as officers or soldiers ar enlisted in defence of the country, and therefore that the same compensation is to be meted out with regard to race or complexion, is one for which he will long be held in honorable remembrance, as well as manifestly just and obligatory; and, while it is humil iating to think that the government should have hesi tated to act upon this principle from the beginning it is unspeakably gratifying to know that this root hitterness is likely to be extracted, and thus at least in some measure atonement for past injustice is to be made to the gallant men who, at great suffering to themselves and their families, have refused to receive an inferior remuneration on account of their complex

After additional brief discussion, participated in by Messis. McKim, Garrison, Foster, Davis, Mat, JOHNSON, PHILLIPS, POWELL and others, the follow ing resolution, offered by AARON M. POWELL, was adopted by a close vote :-

9. Resolved, That while this Society, by the term of its organization, has for its object, through public opinion, the moral regeneration of the nation upor the subject of slavery, we are not insensible to the importance of the present political issues, involving the existence or non-existence of slavery; that while as a Society, it is not within our province to deter mine for individual members in respect to the suppo or non-support of the parties and candidates, we do litionists, and admonish our fellow-coun trymen generally, who exercise the elective fran GRORGIANA B. KIRBY, Cal., to support in the pending important canvas only such

stitutional amendment, and the equal enfranchisement of the negro.

Also the following additional resolution, offered by WENDELL PHILLIPS, on Tuesday morning, was

Mr. Foster's resolution, after some discussion, was

laid on the table. On motion of OLIVER JOHNSON, the meeting then AARON M. POWELL, Sec. pro tem.

COLLECTIONS By Finance Committee, for Annual Meeting Expenses, May, 1864. Villiam Howland,

Mr. Powell, Mr. and Mrs. J. T. Sargent, E. D. Draper, Wm. L. Garrison, M. McKim, -Samuel May, Jr., J. L. Heywood, Wm. A. Jackson, Wm Howe, T. Peirce, E. and C. Post, E. D. Hudson, DONATIONS To American A. S. Society, May 11, 1864.

T. A. Burr,
Edmund Quiney,
Thomas Garrett,
C. and A. R. Bramhall,
E. M. Davis, PLEDGES To American A. S. Society, May 11, 1864. Samuel May, Jr., Mr. and Mrs. E. D. Hudson, Mary Grew.

James Mott and Lucretia Mott, - \$20 00

Mr. and arry. Mary Grew, Mary H. Semple, Total amount collections and donations at meeting, start 132 00 way twice a day.
Thesday A. M. meeting, at 132 00 ble to strangers. Collection at Tuesday A. M. meeting, at Church of the Puritans, 182 00
Admission fees at Wednesday evening meeting at Cooper Institute, - Pledges payable, - -

NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVEN-TION.

The Annual New England Anti-Slavery Convention May 26th and 27th.

The meeting on Thursday will be in the MEIONAon, (basement of the Tremont Temple,) commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M. On Friday, it will be in the TREat 10 o'clock, A. M. On Friday, it will be in the TRE-MONT TEMPLE. Three sessions will be held each day—at 10, A. M., and at a quarter before 3 and a quarter before 8 P. M. To Addition. quarter before 8, P. M. In addition to the well-known and long-tried advocates of the Anti-Slavery cause, who for so many years have sustained the interest of this memorable series of Conventions, and made it such a potent agency against the vile and traitorous schemes of Slavery, we expect this year to have with us our faithful and honored friend George Thompson, of England.

Let every State and section of New England be represented. We respectfully invite delegates from person, show their remembrance and their love for the ause by transmitting some contribution in its be-

By order of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, EDMUND QUINCY. President.

THE BIBLE AGAINST SLAVERY: or, an Inquiry into the Genius of the Mosaic System, and the Teach-

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Secretaries.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr.,

The first thought naturally excited by reading the honor of our flag, there will be a dem he above title, with no author's name, was the strangeness of the fact that a Presbyterian Board had advanced so far as to make open proclamation that the Bible is opposed to slavery; the second was to wonder whether this Board, (like the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1818, and many subsequent ones,) had contrived to unite the theoretical condemnation with the practical toleration of slavery; and the third was, that a careful examination

might be necessary (as in the 1818 document) to sen-

arate the wheat from the chaff. The last two ideas, however, were immediately dis pelled by a glance at the first two lines of the work. It was plain that this treatise was our old friend, failiar through almost our whole experience of the Anti-Slavery struggle, written by Theodore D. Weld. and originally published in the Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine for April, 1887, under the title-" Le Slavery from Above or from Beneath ?" Copies of two previous editions of it, worn by much lending, now lie before us. One of them we lent, shortly after its publication, to an eminently pious and (church-) case-hardened Northern-born slaveholder from Baton Rouge. He afterwards returned to the North, but keeps his Southern faith, and has always considered Anti-Slavery to be synonymous with Infidelity. In

This little work, written and published in 1837, contains, as far as the Old Testament is concerned, the will address the meeting, All Anti-Slavery friends are substance of an argument elaborated by Dr. Cheever twenty-three years after, in a volume called-" The Scriptures on the Guilt of Slavery." Both are exceltent. Both are needed. But the briefer one, now republished, does the work as thoroughly and convincingly as need be. No candid reader can resist the evice it brings. Its publication now by the Presbyterian Board will introduce it to a new set of reader and a class who have heretofore been wofully in the dark respecting slavery, led astray by the vicious practice of Southern Presbyterians, and the false doctrine of the whole Presbyterian Church, South and North, Old School and New School. Any advance made by them in regard to condemnation of slavery is plainly due to an impulse from without rather than om within. It is a special effort to avoid being left behind by "the world," the "unregenerate" of the community.

The church could have abolished slavery, (or made very large progress towards abolishing it,) in any one is out, and the generous friends of humanity and progre year of the last quarter-century. It did not choose to work in that direction. It did choose to hinder the actual workers therein, and to publish many apologies for slaveholding. A year-and-a-half ago the President of the United States, not a cifurch-member, and not pretending any impulse but that of military liest advocates of the cause of the slave, and a constant necessity, abolished slavery over three-quarters of reader of the Liberator. Her loss is deeply felt by a large the country. Since that time, our armies, not very circle of relatives and friends; but while we mourn her loss, we are comforted by the thought that our loss is he grinding the remainder of the system to powder. Now that the peculiar institution seems thoroughly ful home where the weary are at rest. doomed to destruction, publishing Boards and Tract In Andover, May 13, Samuel Farrar, Esq., aged 90 yrs. Societies are hurrying in the record of their testimony against it. After its burial has been thoroughly and Theological Seminary in that place, and 30 year secomplished, no doubt the Prudestial Committee of President of the Andover Bank. the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign
Missions will said their voice to the general chorus,
and say "Amen, Hallelujah!" in a tone intended to
20th Mass., son of George Win. Bond, aged 28 years. convey the impression that they never held the opposite position.—c. x. w.\*

In London, April 25th, Robert James Mackintosh, son of the late Sir James Mackintosh.

ate abolition of slavery, with its probibition by Con- YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS. The Twelfth Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Progressive Friends will be held at LONGWOOD, (nee orton,) Chester County, Pa., beginning at 10 o'clock, A. M., on Fifth-day, the 2d of 6th month, and continuin

WENDELL PHILLIPS, on Tuesday morning, was then, after a brief discussion, adopted, by a vote of 21 in the affirmative to 18 in the negative:

Resolved, That while we do not criticise the wishes of the Administration, still, as Abolitionists, we feel bound to declare that we see no evidence of its purpose to put the freedom of the negro on such a basis as will secure it against every peril.

Mr. Forther day, the 2d of 6th month, and continuing, probably, for three days.

This Society domands assent to no system of dectrines, acknowledges no priesthood, proscribes no form of worship; but, cherishing the utmost liberty of religious opinion, inquiry and speculation, seeks its bond of Union in a common love of God as the Universal Father, a common regard for mankind as one Brotherhood, common aspiration and religious excellence, and common labors to redeem the world from ignorance, superstition and bors to redeem the world from ignorance, superstition and sin, and introduce the era of universal righteousness and peace. Welcoming and cherishing whatever of truth was spoken or recorded in the past, it nevertheless looks conspoken or recorded in the past, it nevertheless looks con-tinually for fresh revelations of the Divine will, and re-joices in the assurance that it is the privilege of the pure in heart, not less now than in former ages, to hold communion with God, and to be guided by the teachings of his Holy Spirit. The time of its public assemblies is devoted, not \$2.00 to sectarian propagandism, nor to unprofitable strife and 1.00 debate in regard to modes of faith and worship, but to the discovery and adoption of the measures best adapted to promote the welfare of the human family; to the applica tion of the principles of justice and freedom to individuals, communities and nations; to the promulgation of testimonies against every system of oppression and wrong; to the cultivation of those sentiments, aspirations, yearn-ings and hopes which proclaim the soul of man immortal as his Maker; and to that exalted fellowship one with another which is the fruit of mutual toils and sacrifice in the cause of our common humanity.

All who feel attracted towards a Religious Seciety fou ed upon the principles, devoted to the objects, and an mated by the spirit above described, are heartily invite to meet with us, and take part in our deliberations.

OLIVER JOHNSON, ALLEY AGNEW. MARY ANN FULTON, JENNIE K. SMITH. HANNAH COX, THEODORE D. WELD, HANNAH COX,
ALICE ELIZA HAMBLETON, ANNIE STEMBACH, ALFRED H. LOVE, DINAH MENDENHALL, SARAH M. BARNARD. SUSANNA P. CHAMBERS. THOMAS HAMBLETON.

Communications for the meeting may be addressed to OLIVER JOHNSON, 48 Beekman street, New York, till the 30th of May : after that, to Hamorton, Chester Co., Pa. Among those who are confidently expected to attend the Among those who are conductive expected to attend the meeting, and who will do so unless prevented by causes not forescen, are George Thompson of England, William Lloyd Garrison, and Thronous Tilron.

Longwood is about thirty miles west of Philadelphia,

from which place it is reached by the cars of the Philadelphia and Baltimore Central Railroad, which runs each way twice a day. The Progressive Friends are hospita-

FRIENDS OF HUMAN PROGRESS .- The Year-Meeting of the Friends of Human Progress will be held at the usual place near Waterloo, on Friday, Saturday and Sunday, 3d, 4th and 5th days of June next.

A cordial invitation is extended to all who have ears to hear—all especially who most prize Truth and the interwill be held in Boston on Thursday and FRIDAY, growth of the soul, to join us in this our annual gathering. Come, that we may mutually impart and receive counsel, encouragement and quickening.

Rev. Samuel J. May, A. M. Powell, C. D. B. Mills,

PHEBE B. DEAN, Waterloo, N. Y. PREBE B. DEAN, HARRIET A. MILLS,

ISRAEL LISK, HENRY BONNEL, STEPHEN SHEAR, HUGH D. THORN, MARY DOTY, WILLIAM DOMESTIC Committee of Arrangements.

Waterloo, March, 1864.

"AN APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC." It being a well presented. We respectfully invite delegates from known fact that the brave men composing the 54th and her States. And let those, who cannot appear in 55th Regiments Mass. Vols. have, since they have been in their country's service, received no pay, and also that hundreds of them have fallen in defence of the American flag, leaving here in our midst their poor, suffering and destitute wives and children, the Colored Ladies of Massachusetts, knowing the urgent necessity there is, just at this time, of doing something for these suffering ones, are preparing to hold a Fair in this city at as early a day as possible, this being, in their judgment, the most practical method of accomplishing their object. Donations, either of goods or money, will be most thankfully received by the President, Madam CARTEAUX BANSISTER, 31 Winter street the Genius of the Mosaic System, and the Teachings of the Old Testament on the Subject of Human Rights.—United Presbyterian Board of Publication. Pittsburg. 1864."—pp. 154. Price 25 cts.

The Genius of the Mosaic System, and the Teaching and the Treasurer, Rev. Mrs. Grimes, 28 Grove street. As we have just sent into the field another brave regiment, the 5th Cavalry, and their families are left with us, while their husbands, brothers and fathers have gone to uphold

Boston, May 7.

TO LET, for the Summer season, one of the m desirable residences in Lynn, situated on Sagamore Hill, free from dust, mosquitoes and other annoyances, and within three minutes' walk of the Beach. The house will be let with or without the furniture. Rent reasonable for

Inquire of J. BAILEY, on the premises.

MEDALLION OF JOHN BROWN .- The subs ber invites the attention of her friends and the public to a number of Medallions of Jonn Brown, just completed by her, and which may be seen at rooms No. 89, Studio Building, Tremont Street. M. EDMONIA LEWIS. Boston, Jan. 29, 1864.

MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., has removed to 2 Dover street. Particular attention paid to Diseases of Women and Children. References .- Luther Clark, M. D.; David Thayer, M.

Office hours from 2 to 4, P. M.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE EMANCIPATION LEAGUE.-This useful and hitherto influential organization will celebrate its anniversary on Monday afternoon other cases, where the loan of the book fell on good ground, it took root and brought forth good fruit.

Anti-Stavery to be 3 now, and 3 o'clock, at the Tremont Temple. Officers will be chosen, and Major George L. Stranns, Rev. S. B. CALTHROP of Marbiehead, and WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., cordially invited to be present.

> WILLIAM WELLS BROWN will speak at Cor rd. N. H., on "Liberty for All," on Saturday evening May 21, and on Sunday, May 22.

AARON M. POWELL will speak at Hopedale or day, May 22. Subject-" The Present Aspect of Na-

STATE TEMPERANCE ALLIANCE.-The a versary of the State Temperance Alliance will be held in the Rev. Dr. Miper's Church, in School Street, in Boston, on Tuesday evening next, May 24. Among the speake will be George Thomrson, Esq. of England.

In Dover, N. H., May 5th, by Rev. L. F. Hall, George K. Radclippe, (printer,) of Boston, to Miss Annie M. B. DURGIN, of Dover. [To the Fraternity : The latch-string

are cordially invited to enter in !]

eternal gain, for we know that she has reached that bliss-5 mos. For many years Treasurer of Phillips Aca

Portrait of William Lloyd Garrison.

THE subscriber has in preparation a large and elegant
lithographic Portrait of Mr. Garrison, from an original crayon drawing by Thomas M. Johnston, which he believes he is safe in asserting will be, in all respects, the
most satisfactory portrait of this distinguished advocate of
impartial freedom ever offered to the public.
Size of print 21 by 27 inches. Price 31.50 for India
Proof copies, which will be sent by mail, free of postage,
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ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW, Sr. PAUL, MINNESOTA.

Special attention given to securing and collecting References : WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., Beston, A. L. PAINE, Esq., Suffolk Bank, do. FARWELL, FIELD & Co., Chicago, Illinois STEVENS & BARNUN, Washington, D. C.

TWO VALUABLE PAMPHLETS. TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT of the Amican Anti-Slavery Society, for the year ending M

PROCEEDINGS of the American Anti-Slavery Society at its Third Docade, held in the city of Philadelphia, Dec. 3d and 4th, 1863. With an Appendix; and a catalogue of Anti-Slavery Publications in America, from 1750 to

221 Washington Street, Boston.

Price, Fifty cents each pamphlet; for which a copy of either will be sent by mail, as may be directed.

May 20. Ness, Just published, and for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office Washington Street. Boston.

BOARDING.

MRS. R. A. SMITH would inform her friends and the public generally, that she has taken house No. 42, Grove Street, Boston; where Board, transient and permanent, may be obtained on reasonable terms. A share of the public patronage is respectfully solicited.

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A LL interested in Phonographic Shorthand should send for the PHONOGRAPHIC VISITOR, No. 1, seven cents; Nos. 1 and 2, twelve cents. No. 2 explains the Phonographic Alphabet, given above, and all the more general principles of the Art. Address ANDREW J. GRAHAM, Dec. 1.

1y New York.

MASON & HAMLIN'S

CABINET ORGANS.



Every Church, Sunday School and Private Family MAY HAVE

A GOOD ORGAN A T a very moderate cost—\$85, \$100, \$110, \$135, \$165, \$260, and upward, according to number of Stops and

style of case.

They are elegant as pieces of furniture, occupying little space, are not liable to get out of order, and every one is warranted for five years.

THE CABINET ORGANS,

introduced about a year since, and manufactured exclusive-sively by MASON & HAMLIN, have mot with success un-precedented in the history of musical instruments. Sup-plying a long-felt want, they have been received with the greatest pleasure by the musical profession and the pub-lic, and have already been very widely introduced, and the demand for them is still rapidly increasing, and must con-tinue to increase as their merits become known. They are to private houses, Sunday Schools, and smaller churches, all that the larger pipe organs are to large churches. In

to private houses, Sunday Schools, and smaller churches, all that the larger pipe organs are to large churches. In addition to this, they are admirably adapted to the performance of secular as well as sacred music.

The Cabinet Organ is essentially different from and a very great improvement upon all instruments of the Melodeon or Harmonium kind. Its superior excellence consists in many important characteristics, among which are:

1. The more organ-like character of its tones. Indeed, it is asserted with confidence that it has not yet been found possible to produce a better quality of tone from pipes than is attained in these organs.

2. It has greatly more power and volume of tone in pro-

portion to its cost.

3. By the employment of a very simple and beautiful in ention, its capacity for expression is made vastly greater than has ever before been attained in sacce scarcely any This invention is especially valuable, because scarcely any ctice is necessary to render it available. Any ordinate former can master it in an hour or two.

4. It admits of great rapidity of execution, adapting it to the performance of a great variety of lively secular mu-5. No instrument is less liable to get out of order.

orte.

It may be reasonably said, that if these instruments have the great and obvious superiority thus claimed for hom, they must have received very warm recommendations from professional musicians, who would naturally be not interested in the introduction of such instruments, and who are the best judges of their excellence. Such re-commendations already have been given tot hem, to an ex-

and who are the best judges of taker excenses. Such recommendations already have been given tot hem, to an extent unparalleled.

Among those who have proffered written testimony to their admirable qualities and great desirability, and that they regard them as unequalled by any other instrument of their class, are such well-known musicians as Lowell Mason, Thomas Hastings, William B. Bradbury, George F. Root, &c.; the most distinguished organists in the country, as Cutier of Trinity Church, N. Y., Morgan of Grace Church, Zundel of Mr. Beccher's Church, Braun, Wels, Wilcox, Tuckerman, Zerrahn, &c. such celebrated planists as Gottschalk, Wm. Mason, Mill, Sanderson, Strakosch, etc.: in brief, more than two hundred musicians, including a large portion of the most eminent in the country, have testified to this effect. Each Cabinet Organ is securely hoxed, so that it can be sent safely to any part of the country. xed, so that it can be sent safely to any part of the co

ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUES, with full particulars, WAREROOMS, 274 Washington Street, Bosto 7 Mercer Street, New York. MASON & HAMLIN.

SUNSHINE NEW NAME FOR A POPULAR LECTURE ON HEALTH. By Mrs. Dall, Author of "Woman's La-bor," "Woman under the Law," &c. 16mo; paper, 35

sent free by mail on receipt of the price. DR. BARTOL'S SERMON COMMEMORATIVE OF BEV.

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THE RED SEA FREEDMEN. A. STIRRING Sermon for the Times; unsectarian, untrammeled and progressive, bearing upon the activities of the Church and the prosperities of the Nation. By Rev. ALEXANDER CLARK, Editor of "Clark's School Visitor," and Junior Partor of the Church of the New Testagest, Philadelphia.

ent, Philadelphia.

handcome pamphlet. Price 10 cents. \$1 a dezen.

r it, read it, and send it to a soldier. Address J. W. DAUGHADAY, 1308 Chestnut street, Philadelphia

GAS FIXTURES.

THE undersigned begs leave to inform his friends and obliged to leave his situation at Messra H. B. Stanwood & Co's, now Messra. Shreve, Stanwood & Co's, where he has been employed for the last fourteen years, the work being too heavy for his physical strength, and is now prepared

JOBBING ON GAS FIXTURES.

in the most careful manner. New Fixtures furnished and put up, old Fixtures and Glass Drops cleaned, leaks stop-ped, Gas Fixtures done over, and Gas Glasses of all kinds furnished at short notice. Also, Gas Burners of all the

approved kinds.

Particular attention given to Lighting up for Parties.

Shop under the Marlboro' Hotel. Orders may be left at Messrs. Hall & Stowell's Provision Store, 132 Charles street, Boston.

NELSON L. PERKINS.

Refers to Shreve, Stanwood & Co.

Oct. 30—1y

# Poetry.

#### THE BONDMAN.

Close by the sea, on the desolate strand, Where the gruff wave beat with its heavy hand, I saw the fugitive bondman stand, Alone, and sad, and weary. The brisk winds beedless around him played

The clouds sailed over, not one delayed, The pipe on the cliff-top no music made, The brook crept softly, as though afraid-Alone, and sad, and weary.

I could not tell why he stood alone, By the sulky waves, with their querulous tone; I could not tell, till I heard him moan A touching soliloquy.

Anon he appealed to the moody seas, To the winds, to the clouds, to the brook, to the trees, While I heard, as the dreamer his vision sees, The wonderful colloquy.

The language he spoke was uncouth and unknown; But the earnest emotion that breathed in each tone, And the eloquent flame in his deep eye that shone, These spoke to me :

And I ne'er shall forget, whate'er age be attained, How the bondman spoke, while his eye explained, I ne'er shall forget how my heart was pained,

> "O. I am not free ! No. I am not free ! Life is pleasant, men say. And I am not free ! Life is precious, men say-It is sweet to be free ! No, I am not free ! Not free ! Pleasant life! Precious life! Farewell! I'll be free!'

He leaned from the rock-I was helpless and dumb My stiffed heart beat like a funeral drum-But the waves dashed up fiercely, and bade him not e And the bondman forbore;
But told of his sorrow with sorrowful word,

Still unmeaning to me, though I plainly heard, But for that eyeflash—like glancing sword "Waves, waves, you are free! you are free!-you can

Half way round the great world; yet how angry you grow,

How quick you curl your white lips when you know

That all is not yours !-- O, then, waves, pity me!

Waves, waves, you are free ! " How you hate the great rocks that keep you at bay How quick, if you could, you would drive them aw How you come up to curse them twice every day! When half of the world is your own, and you free!

" And, waves, if you always fret and roar, If you always long and toil for more, When all is your own but a little of shore,
Tell me, what would you do if you were, like me.... But no! waves are free

"And I must not hate you, for you do not know,-O waves, if you knew, you would pity me so! I will ask of the winds, for I just heard them blow, Of the clouds, trees and brook . . . But they are all free !-Will none pity me?

"Winds, Winds, all around the great world you can road All the land, all the sea, all the sky, for a home; Would you like to be chained, far away in the gloom ! I am chained-in the gloom ; will you not pity me? But no ! winds are free.

Clouds, Clouds, with the winds and the stars you can fly You can play, you can sleep in the beautiful sky; Will you not pity me? will you always pass by? You would weep bitter tears if you were like me . . . .

"Trees. Trees, you can grow everywhere on the land, Yet how greedy you stretch your long arms from

Suppose you were torn, by some strong, cruel hand, From your dear native soil? Trees, Trees, pity me ! No! no! you are free.

Brook, Brook, little Brook, happy child of the hill, You can go your own way, you can do your own will; Say, would you be penned up, and made to be still? O then pity me, brook ! Will you not pity me?

"Mankind have no pity; brutes howl on my track And ye have no pity—ye bid me go back!

Not a thing, save my brothers, whose faces are black, In all the wide world will have pity on me,-The rest are all free.

He paused-and his deep eye grew dim with despair : All was silent, so silent ! earth, water and air. Such a wonderful stillness was everywhere As I ne'er thought could be : All listening: I thought to have listened in vain. But once more he spoke, though with evident pain,

And faintly that eve-flash came back again. Still explaining to me :-"Free! all of you free! O why am not I? When I ask to be free, why do you deny? Somewhere, anywhere on this shore let me lie-

I'll trouble you not, if I only am free : You are free-pity me ! I have lost the great gift that the Father gave, Men say I've no soul, I am only-a slave ! O say, is it wrong to be free in the grave?

O answer me, all! Will you not answer me-May I not be free?" He ceased : and I thought that the wrathful sea Would annul, in its rage, the firm decree

Which said to it-" Here shall thy boundary be Here shalt thou be stayed.'

The winds cried aloud with a passionate cry The pines on the cliff-top made instant reply, The brook complained as it lingered nigh, In a shadowy glade.

Earnestly thrilling the answer came

From the waves, from the winds, from each cloud's tongue of flame; From the trees, from the brook it was ever the same— (I knew it before,)

"Happy and free did God create Every man in his first estate. Freedom to all-" no more could I wait. I sprang down the shore.

A stooping wave toiled upward to meet. But motionless, voiceless, and rigid—no beat
Of the life-stroke—no breath!

As I musing stood by the silent dead, An echo came floating about my head : "Freedom! Freedom to All!" it said. " FREEDOM, OF DEATH." FONST P. JORDAN.

## WHAT THE BIRDS SAID.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER

The birds, against the April wind, Flew Northward, singing as they flew; They sang, "The land we leave behind Has swords for corn-blader, blood for dew."

"O wild birds, flying from the South, What saw and heard ye, gazing down?"
"We saw the mortar's upturned mouth, The sickened camp, the blazing town

Beneath the bivouse's starry lamps, We saw your march-worn children die In shrouds of moss, in cypress swamps,

" We heard the starving prisoner's sighs : And saw, from line and trench, your sons Follow our flight with home-sick eyes Beyond the battery's smoking guns.

" And heard and saw ye only wrong And pain," I cried, "O wing-worn flocks?" "We heard," they sang, "the Freedman's song, The erash of Slavery's broken looks! "We saw from new, uprising States

The Treason-nursing mischief spurned, As, crowding Freedom's ample gates, The long-estranged and lost returned. "O'er dusky faces, seamed and old, And hands born-hard with unpaid toil,

With hope in every restling fold, We saw your star-dropt flag upeoil. "And, struggling up through sounds accursed,

A whisper scarcely heard at first,
It filled the listening heavens with prayer.

"And sweet and far, as from a star. Replied a voice which shall not cease, Till, drowning all the noise of war,

It sings the blessed songs of peace ! " So to me, in a doubtful day Of chill and slowly-greening spring Low-stooping from the cloudy grey, The wild-birds sang, or seemed to sing.

They vanished in the misty air,

The song went with them in their flight; But, lo ! they left the sunset fair, And in the evening there was light.

#### GEN. GILLMORE ON THE PAY AND USE OF NEGRO TROOPS.

Selections.

[Correspondence of the Evening Post.] HILTON HEAD, (S. C.) April 23, 1864.

HILTON HEAD, (S. C.) April 23, 1864.

I herewith enclose you an authentic copy of a letter addressed by General Gillmore to the General-in-Chief as long ago as the 14th of December last.

The letter is at your disposal, to make whatever use of it you may think fit; though I hope, for the sake both of the man and the cause, that you will give it a place in your columns. You will see, both from both of the man and the cause, that you will give it a place in your columns. You will see, both from this letter and from his recent report of the doings in Florida, that Gen. Gillmore has, by his acts, scaled his practical approval of the policy of enrolling the bondmen of the South in the Union armies; which, it seems to me, fairly shuts off all just cause fo doubting his soundness on the negro question. He not only acquiesces in that policy, but is prompt in using his judgment and in giving his counsel with a

"DEPARTMENT OF THE SOUTH, HEADQUAR-) TERS IN THE FIELD, FOLLY ISLAND, S. C., Dec. 14, 1863. Major-General H. W. Halleck, General-in-Chief

iments of colored troops upon this coast, and the value and general efficiency of that class of soldiers, have had a fair trial and successful issue under my own eyes. The wisdom of the course pursued (under my uniform rule to treat the white and the colored soldier alike) has been fully vindicated upon two negroes to pick me up and pitch me into the wagon, and kill the d—d raider, declaring that we wagon, and kill the d—d raider, declaring that we wagon, and kill the d—d raider, declaring that we wagon, and kill the d—d raider, declaring that we the field of battle and in the trenches. Every vestige of the prejudice and ill feeling which existed between the white and colored troops of this command, during a period of inactivity, has disappeared the excitement of an active campaign, of the excitement of the under the excitement of an active campaign, of which the labors and dangers were shared alike by

I request attention to the following points:—
First. The colored volunteers in this Department
are derived from the States of South Carolina, Georare derived from the States of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, and in forming them into regiments, they should be designated as United, States Colored Regiments with the appropriate numbers. This would materially simplify their organizations and

increase their efficiency.

Second. A Board for the examination of candi-

provided for by allowing them to locate upon and were g

unteers. Brigadier-General R. Saxton, who had commenced the organization of the Fifth South Car-olina Volunteers, under his special authority from the War Department to raise five thousand South

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
Q. A. GILLMORE,
Major-General Commanding.

## THEN AND NOW.

It requires no great stretch of memory to refer to a period when freedom of speech in the State of Louisiana was practically abrogated on the subject of Slavery. The Civil Code of that State was considered sufficiently explicit and declaratory on the subject of human bondage, to place it beyond all dissent or controversy on the part of the doubting or captious. It affirms that "A slave is one who is in the power of a master to whom he belongs. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry and his labor; he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire anything but what must belong to his master." If any one questioned the right to establish a system of absolute authority on the one hand, and absolute subjection on the other, he dared not uisiana was practically abrogated on the subject Slavery. The Civil Code of that State was conand absolute subjection on the other, he dared not express the doubt—it was treason to the State. If he wondered how a bondage without limitation and without compensation could accord with the divine precepts of Christianity, he dared not ask his minister to explain, for that minister was in the interest of Slavery. If his observations led him to conclude that, economically considered, it is an evil of great magnitude—that it humiliates the mechanic, the arrisan, and the manufacturer—that it converts the energy of a community into indolence, its power into imbecility, and its efficiency into feebleness—he could not give expression to such opinions, for it was not safe. If he thought that the harsher features of the sale. If he thought that the harsher features of the system—the lash, the licentionsness, the compulsory ignorance, and the forcible separation of families—found no justification in humanity, or no sanction in religion, he dared not avow such belief, for its avowal would inevitably have resulted in the tightening of a halter around his neck. Freedom of speech was only guaranteed to those who believed in the divine origin, moral right and political advantage of the rea natter around his neck. Freedom of speech was only guaranteed to those who believed in the divine origin, moral right and political advantage of the peculiar institution, and therefore meant only freedom to express what they believed and desired. But as to any expressions of belief or feeling in regard to Anti-Slavery, Emancipation, and kindred subjects, it was not simply abridged, but effectually gagged. Now all this is changed, and the change, more particularly in the city of New Orleans, is not partial and half-way, but antipodal. The constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech means something. Its limitations are no longer circumscribed within a line beyond which there are perils innumerable to life or limb. The tongues of the advocates of Slavery have been loosened, and they now preach deliverance to the captives. Its secret opponents rejoice in their newly-found freedom, and shout in thunder tones their testimony against the great oppression. We pick up the New Orleans Delia, or Times, or

Era, and we gape with astonishment at the boldness of their utterances and the radical character of their opinions. We can hardly divest ourselves of the impression that we are reading Garrison's Liberator or the Anti-Slavery Standard, and we refer back to the title to be certain that we are right. We read on title to be certain that we are right. We read on and we find a torrent of vehemence, a bitterness of sarcasm, and a boldness of denunciation in these recently awakened champions of Emancipation that would do infinite credit to Wendell Phillips. If coals are to be thus brought from Newcastle, your occupation, Mr. Phillips, is gone. You will have to hang your harp on the willows and retire from the service. The New England Presses, which have been so energetic and unceasing in their attacks, can now repose upon their laurels, as we shall hereafter expect our full supply of Anti-Slavery literature from the latitude of New Orleans. The Picayune and the Bee are more reticent, and do not fulminate so united that they have the advanced the chony idol latitude of New Orleans. The Picayune and the Bee are more reticent, and do not fulminate so unsparingly, but they have dragged the ebony idol from its exalted throne, and it will never be replaced. Let us hope that Congress will aid and confirm them in the good work they have undertaken, by so alter-

## RICHMOND PRISON EXPERIENCE.

ing the Constitution as to forever prohibit involuntary servitude within their borders.—Baltimore Amer-

STATEMENT OF ONE OF COLONEL DAHLGREN'S MEN.

Editors Raltimore American:

I give you a brief statement of the sufferings of the raiding prisoners that were under command of Col. Dablgren and Lieut. Col. Cook. On the raid to Richmond, after riding three days and nights, only stopping long enough to feed our horses, we were ordered to halt, build fires, and make coffee, and feed, and being very tired and hungar was aboved the being very tired and hungry, we obeyed the order very readily. It being about nine o'clock in the eve-ning, and very dark, our fires enabled the rebels, (that were secreted all about us) to come near enough to even count the number of our force. This they to even count the number of our force. This they told me after we were captured. They mustered their forces and secreted themselves in the wood within two rods of the road, about a mile and a half in advance of where we camped, near a turn in the road. We were ordered to mount and keep well closed up, which we did, Colonel Dahlgren and Lieutenant Colonel Cook in the advance, and as they made the turn in the road the rebels fired a volley into the column from their double-barrelled shot guns, loaded with buck-shot, killing Colonel Dahlgren, and wounding several others, and killing several horses. Then Lieutenant Colonel Cook ordered the fence to be thrown down to the right, which was done in haste, and we fell back in an open field, where we were captured the next morning. They marched us, sev-enty-three in all, past where Colonel Dahlgren lay. I passed within ten feet of him. He was stripped of every thread of clothing, his false leg taken off, and his finger cut off to get his ring. He had three balls through him, and was almost covered with mud. This was about 8 o'clock in the morning.

They then marched us to Stevensville, where they

gave us some water to drink, but nothing to eat marched until about 2 o'clock, when they halted, and gave each of the prisoners about a half-pint of corn meal and about an ounce of bacon. We mixed our meal with water (no salt,) and baked it in the Sin:—I desire to urge upon the attention of Government certain simple measures for bettering the condition of the colored people in this Department, colored soldiers in particular.

The policy of the Government. me to get into the baggage-wagon, which I did, suf-fering from a severe pain in my side. But they were not content to let me ride there, and they took me very well. We arrived at the prison the second night, about 9 o'clock. Three rebels came in, (one of them paroled, you may get them again; but those that de not will be searched, and if there is any money or watches found about you, it will be confiscated; but those that do and those that did give up their money were also searched, and everything taken. I gave them twenty-three dollars, and then they took my blanket, haversack and contents, knife, pocket-book, postage-stamps, and, in fact, everything except the clothes I had on my back. I had to lie on the floor, with a brick for a pillow, as many of the other boys did. Our rations consisted of a corn dodger, about the size of one's hand, and about a half pint of black bean

dates for commissions in colored regiments should be appointed in this Department.

Third. The pay of the white soldier and of the colored soldier should be the same. All distinctions calculated to raise in the mind of the colored man a suspicion that he is regarded as an inferior being should be scrapulously avoided. Every dictate of sound policy suggests this course, even if we regard the matter as still an experiment of doubtful results, which it is not.

Our rations consisted.

Our rations consisted.

Size of one's hand, and about a half pint of black bean soup, which was not fit for hog feed. This was our rations for one day.

I should have stated that the day we arrived at prison there were twenty-eight that were captured and put in prison in the morning. The whole of us were bucked and gagged, and kept in that position for several hours, until some of us were nearly exhausted. This was done because we were raiders. They said that all ought to be shot, and that they were going to turn us over to the civil authorities, ultivate land in advance of the regular survey and ale thereof.

This is important as a military measure, by making the soldier contented with his lot, in securing to bacco. They kept a guard over us night and day, This is important as a military measure, by maxing the soldier contented with his lot, in securing to bacco. They kept a guard over us night and day, and for himself when the war is over.

I enclose herewith the duplicate of a letter ader than I can describe—worse, if anything, than he

I enclose herewith the duplicate of a letter and dressed this day to the Secretary of War, recommending the consolidation, under Colonel Littlefield, (Fourth South Carolina Volunteers,) of fragments of the Third, Fourth and Fith South Carolina Volunteers, of the Third, Fourth and Fith South Carolina Volunteers, of fragments of doubtful origin.

\*\*There are men here in this ward who actually ate the set of the set o horse beef, and even dog, and were glad to get it. One man I saw in the prison before I went to the hospital, that had one of the dog's pass that he eat of on the island. He said that he was going to keep

the War Department to raise five thousand South Carolina volunteers, offers no objection to this plan. There are urgent reasons why it should be carried into immediate effect.

The prison of on the island. He said that he was going to keep it and fetch it to our lines when he came. The prison oners on the island, although nearly exhausted from exposure and starvation, were detailed to carry wood them were about three-fourths of a mile. Some of them w so weak that they could hardly get around, and wo refuse to fetch wood. As a mode of punishment for disobedience of orders they had a wooden horse, the legs about five feet long, made after the style of a carpenter's horse, and the bench of it sharpened almost to an edge, on which they would put the er a straddle, tie his hands behind him, gag hi fasten a rope to each ankle, and stretched both ways, until it would nearly split a man in two. There they would keep him as long as they thought he could

> stole into the ranks, hoping to get paroled. He being discovered by the officer in command, who, having a club in his hand, struck the poor fellow on the bead, fracturing his skull, causing death in a few hours. Another was struck on the cheek, cleaving the flesh all off one side of his face. I saw one man shot, sitting in the window eating his breakfast; the guard shot him through the glass, hitting him in the head, killing him instantly. It is an almost every day occurrence for the prisoners to be shot at through the window by the guards.
>
> A RAIDER,
>
> Of the Army of the Potomac.

PRACTICAL MISCEGINATION. A son of Gov

Practical Misckgination. A son of Gov. Smith, of Virginia, was married on the 16th inst., in Vicksburg, to a colored woman, by the regular army chaplain of the 68d U. S. Infantry.

The effect of Abolition measures, sneers the Copperhead Snob. Not so fast, Mr. Snob! The bridegroom was the son of Gov. Smith, by his slave woman, and therefore neither he nor "Abolition measures" are responsible for his being a Miscegen.

#### A REMINISCENCE OF HON. OWEN LOVEJOY. | THE SCHEME TO ASSASSINATE PRESI-

In the summer of 1850, a fugitive slave, on his way to the land of freedom, came to Princeton, Ill., and, finding employment among the farmers, concluded to stop and earn a little money before completing his journey. He remained until haying time, when his master came in pursuit of him; and, having obtained the assistance of a tavern-keeper residing in the place, came upon him suddenly one morning, while quietly engaged at work, seized him, tied his hands, and led him publicly through the village to the tavern. lage to the tavern.

A crowd soon collected, foremost among who

A crowd soon collected, foremost among whom was Mr. Lovejoy, who, coming up to the slaveholder, boldly demanded by what right he held that man bound. "Why," replied the other, "he is my slave." "Sir," said Mr. Lovejoy, "we do not recognize slavery in Illinois, and I demand by what right you hold that man." While Mr. Lovejoy was thus enlightening the Southerner on the subject of human rights, a warrant was procured, and the latter arrested for kidnapping. Dragging his slave with him, he was led off a prisoner to the court-house, the crowd following. The court-room was soon filled to overflowing, and in the bustle the slave, by some strategy, was separated from the master, the rope cut, and a passage opened through the crowd, which was instantly closed after him as he rushed out. The relative position of master and slave being thus was instantly closed after him as he rushed out. The relative position of master and slave being thus essentially changed, the latter made good use of his time, and, being furnished with a horse, started for Mr. Lovejoy's residence, with friends and foes in full pursuit—Lovejoy and the tavern-keeper leading the way. Mr. Lovejoy arrived first, and, springing over the fence, turned to the tavern-keeper, who was about to follow, and ordered him not to

on his premises.

Great numbers having again gathered, Mr. Love-Great numbers having again gathered, Mr. Love-joy came out on the porch and said that, as they had assembled, he would improve the opportunity, and made them a speech suited to the occasion; tak-ing for his text the passage, "Thou shalt not return unto his master the servant that is escaped from his master unto thee." While Mr. Lovejoy was thus occupying their attention, the slave, concealed in occupying their attention, the slave, concealed in the bottom of a wagon, was quietly driven around in the rear, and off in a southerly direction. A runner, personating the fugitive, was, at the same time, started off north, and, when he had got a sufficient started on north, and, when he had got a summent distance, the alarm was given, and all instantly started in hot pursuit—the tools of slavery to catch their supposed victim, and the others to keep up the ruse. Our white fugitive made good time for Canada, but, after tiring out his pursuers, allowed them to come up, and very good naturedly asked them where they were all running to. The real fugitive, having taken the cars on the Underground railroad, was, by this time, out of reach of harm. Meanwhile, the slaveholder had his trial, and was Meanwhile, the slaveholder had his trial, and was held in bail for the nominal sum of \$50 for his appearance at the ensuing term of the circuit court. Finding no one to become his security, he was kept under guard, but finally arranged the matter with the tavern-keeper, and left for the South, declaring that, if he ever lost another slave, he would not come to level for him.

P. ATKINSON. Chicago, April 25th, 1864.

#### IN MEMORIAM.

SHELBY COUNTY, Ill., April 15, 1864.

I read with tears the incidents of the sickness, death, and burial of Thomas Starr King. What a glorious death! But no wonder, because his life was a continual song of praise; and as a mau lives, so

ories of his life which his death brings to light, and believe them—which he must when he reads of such an involuntary outburst of popular grief—without shedding sad, sorrowful, and yet joyful tears! May our Father help us to emulate his virtues—his personal pusity, his untiring industry, his noble self-sacrifice, his lofty patriotism, and his devotion to liberty and the cause of the poor and needy—that we may die as peaceful and hopeful as he, and pass up to as beautiful and glorious a life! How many that we seem to so much need are passing to a higher life! Thank God that we may hope they still live to labor for the cause that needs assistance!

On the first day of the present month, the fine, manly body of Owen Lovejoy was committed to the tomb. In the closing words of the elegy that was "In these free prairies of the West

We lay his manly form away;
'Tis meet that here earth's loving breast
Receive again the conqueror's clay." Doubtless, Lovejoy had his faults, for he was human; but what those faults were, even his enemies failed to discover, except that he loved freedom and hated slavery with all the intensity of a warm, full, ardent nature. His power to influence and interes that was nearest his beart the masses in the caus was immense. Three years ago the writer sat at his feet on a rude rostrum, constructed for the occasion in the middle of one of our larges nessed him keep as many men and women as could get within hearing of his unusually powerful voice spell-bound for full three hours by his matchless elo-

Two other distinguished speakers at the same time were discoursing from other stands, out their audiences constantly grew less, while his as constantly increased; and notwithstanding he was uttering sentiments that were unpopular then with the great mass of the Republicans, yet his voice was often drowned amid cheers and applause. And when utterly exhausted, sweating great drops of sweat, he was compelled to retire from the stand, hundreds of voices followed him crying, "Hurrah for Lovejoy!" was compelled to retire from the stand, numeros of voices followed him crying, "Hurrah for Lovejoy!"

"Speak on!" "Speak on, Lovejoy!" "We'll listen to you till morning." I have heard the sweet, graceful, simple eloquence of Phillips—and he it was who convinced one person how great a sin he had committed in casting his first vote for James Buchanan —I have witnessed the strong, social, magnetizing eloquence of the late Senator Douglas; I have heard the smooth, finished periods of Everett; but I never knew a person who possessed such powers of winning the sympathy of all classes of society and influencing all degrees of intellect as did Owen Lovejoy. The secret of this power was his large, warm social nasecret of this power was his large, warm social na-ture, and his intimate sympathy with all classes and conditions of the human family, combined with an excellent judgment of human nature, a hearty good humor, a keen sense of the ridiculous, and a temper-ament so intense as to be susceptible of occasional nspiration. Often only a single quaintance was necessary to convert his bitterest en-emies into warm admirers and staunch friends. None but those "possessed," such as he had to face in Congress, could listen to him, and abuse him at the same time. I have heard a number, who were previously I have heard a number, who were previously time. I have neard a number, who were previously prejudiced against him, declare after hearing him speak that if Owen Lovejoy was an abolitionist, they were also. The future will alone reveal how much this champion of human rights has done for a State, which, alas! does not fully appreciate his labors, and which is yet darkened by a code of unchristian laws that are different to the civiling tracking. that are a disgrace to the civilized world.

Good, brave, true men are passing to their reward. How we can do without them, we may not know; but God does, which is infinitely better.

# LETTER OF OWEN LOVEJOY.

The Princeton (Ill.) Republican says:

"The following letter is, perhaps, the last one written by Mr. Lovejoy. It was in answer to one from Mr. J. H. Bryant, requesting his services in procuring the discharge of a hopelessly disabled soldier. Also an earnest inquiry as to his health, with an intimation that he, Bryant, feared that his sickness would prove fital. The personal attention ness would prove fatal. The personal attention which Mr. Lovejoy gave to this business, even in his death sickness, was characteristic of his faithfulness. The reply about his health, 'I shall come out right,' is also chararacteristic of the hope which ever buoyed him up. The close of his letter shows that his life idea, freedom, was the great subject of his

" WASHINGTON, D. C., March 15, 1864. "Dear Sir: I went in person and presented the case of the young man to the War Department. I cannot tell what will be the result, but I think he of highwaymen) would curdle the blood of all civil-

# DENT LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, April 17, 1864.

Two or three, and possibly more, copperhead journals have seen fit to question the truth of my statements in regard to rebel schemes to kidnap or assassinate President Lincoln. That these friends of Jeff. Davis should endeavor to screen him and his followers from so serious a charge will not surprise. assasinate President Lincoln. That these of Jeff. Davis should endeavor to screen him and his followers from so serious a charge will not surprise you, and should not surprise the public. From the beginning of the war, these organs have affected to disbelieve nearly overything adverse or discreditable to their rebel friends that has appeared in print, and especially everything that has appeared in the Tribune. It would have been strange, indeed, if they had passed over my letters in silence; and I should have concluded that the intelligence offered by me was of little public interest or value. Encouraged by their denunciation and abuse, which I esteem the greatest compliments, as I should regard their praise the greatest censure that could be heaped upon me, I shall continue my correspondence as long as I have facts and information concerning rebels and rebeldom to enlighten and interest the public.

The schemes exposed by me to kidnap or kill the President of the United States may shock the unsophisticated, and to the novel reader may sound like romance, as charged by that disinterested and scrucing several The Dail. Now, but an intelligent

omance, as charged by that disinterested and scru-pulous journal, The Daily News; but to an intelligent sublic, who have watched, not with "a single eye," but with all their eyes and senses, the conduct and proceedings of the rebels during the past three years, my story will not seem at all improbable.

The same copperhead journals that pretend to doubt my revelations of schemes to kidnap or assassinate President Lincoln, have never questioned with a single line the statements with which the

with a single line the statements with which the Southern papers teemed of the plots on the part of Yankee spies and Union men in Richmond to assassinate Jeff. Davis. They can readily believe that Union men are capable of murdering the rebel President, but they cannot believe that the rebels would be guilty of murdering the Union President.

But I happen to have at hand evidence sufficient to satisfy any man who is onen to conviction, that

But I happen to have at hand evidence sufficient to satisfy any man who is open to conviction, that the schemes detailed by me to kidnap or assassinate our President are not romance, but real projects of a desperate and unscrupulous people. This evi-dence will be found in the following letter, which will speak for itself. The writer, who merely signs his surname, "Cullom," rejoices in the Christian name of Calhoun. He is a captain in a North Carwounded. I enclose the original letter, because it carries on its face prima facie evidence of its genuineness—a Confederate ten cent postage stamp and the post mark of the place at which it was mailed. It will not be contended, even by the News, that the Tribune has friends in the Confederacy who could have prepared the letter and sent it through the mails, to give it a genuine appearance, as was done in the case of the T. Butler King letter. I received the letter from Mr. Wellford, a clerk in the War Office, to whom it was addressed, and have this and other reasons for knowing it to be authen tie. But here is the letter :-

"Morgantown, Sept. 30, 1863.

My Dear Wellford,—I have for several weeks been looking for a letter from you on the subject of our last conversation. On yesterday, Mr. Gaither, M. C. for the IXth District, came to see father and sined with us. He spent the week before last at Richmond, and had a number of conversations with the President, Secretary of War, and other officials. I inquired of him if he had heard anything of the ruse de guerre to capture "Honest Abe." and he said he glorious death! But no wonder, because his life was a continual song of praise; and as a mau lives, so does he die.

How can any one read of the last moments in the flesh of this good man, and the tender, touching memories of his life which his death brings to light, and believe them—which he must when he reads of such an involuntary outburst of popular grief—without shedding sad, sorrowful, and yet joyful tears! May our Father help us to emulate his virtues—his personal pumity, his untiring industry, his noble self-sac roinely myther with the mail, I beg you to put in a timely word for me. If the affair was to be managed by the Government, I know your influence, and that of my other friends, with Mr. Seddon, would get me assigned to the part I desire to play in the grand comedy or tragedy, as the case may be; but it it is to be managed by the citizens of Richmond, my chances are not so good, and I may have to depend entirely on you. Speak a good word for me at once, and I will see you next week. As I told you, I would willingly sell my soul to the devil for the honor of playing a complication of the great hard.

My arm is nearly well, and I find it quite useful again, as you will conclude from my being able to dis pense with an amanueusis.

Don't neglect me.
Your sincere friend, CULLOW." Now, to enable the curious to see with their own Now, to enable the curious to see with their own eyes the evidence of the rebel plots to kidnap or assassinate our President, and to prevent doubts on the part of suspicious copperheads that the evidence exists, as set forth, I suggest that you send the original letter to Barnum, or to the Sanitary Fair, where that liberal showman may have an opportunity of purchasing it as an addition to the curiosities of his Museum.—Corr. N. Y. Tribune.

#### ANOTHER INSTANCE OF REBEL BAR-BARITY.

A correspondent of the Cincinnati Commercial writing in Decatur, Alabama, gives the following account of another barbarous act of the rebels:

"Having often heard, since we came here, of the us, which seems to have made a great impression on the minds of the people on account of its fiendish-ness, I made it my business to find out the particulars from refugees who knew the man and the

Hon. T. P. Curtis was Probate Judge of Winston county, (a new county, formed four years ago, and you do not find it on the maps.) directly south of Decatur. He was a quiet, unobtrusive man, held in the highest estimation by the people as an honest, conscientious, judicious officer. He had never made bimself prominent as a politician, but, when the war broke out, modestly proclaimed himself against secession. His term of office having expired about secession. His term of office having expired about two years ago, he offered again, and was elected over a violent secessionist. This completed his crimes in the eyes of the rebels, and he was marked for destruction. His property was destroyed by midnight depredators, and he was reduced to poverty. Charges of various kinds were brought against him as different times, but the investigations proved his innocence and established him in the good will of the community. At last, a band of desperadoes united with a number of rebel conscription officers and their agents, arrested him at night, conveyed him some miles from home into the woods, and went through the mockery of a trial. They then robbed him of everything except a part They then robbed him of everything except a part of his clothing, and threw him headlong from a high cliff. There his friends found him two days after. The fall had not killed him; he had crawled to the margin of a little creek in the ravine, and there had been shot in the head and through the body.

These refusees tell me that this is only one in-

These refugees tell me that this is only one in-stance out of many. Do you wonder that they grind their teeth at the idea of compromising with such men? They ask, with evident anxiety, what course will the government pursue in relation to

#### GUERILLAS PUNISHED --- A WHITE MAN SHOT BY A NEGRO.

A party of guerillas, about thirty in number, has just been disposed of by a party of scouts under Capt. Reynolds. They were heard of in Green County, roaming over the country, killing men, and boys of tender years; plundering houses, stealing horses, and committing other atrocties in keeping with their villanous profession. Accordingly, a detachment consisting of the 3d Indiana Cavalry and of Cart Reproduct of scouts were sent in tachment consisting of the 3d Indiana Cavalry and of Capt. Reynolds' old party of scouts were sent in pursuit. The Union forces were divided and sent to guard three roads. The party immediately in command of Reynolds came upon a squad of the maranders, and killed ten of their number, taking is also chararacteristic of the hope which ever buoy-ed him up. The close of his letter shows that his life idea, freedom, was the great subject of his thoughts: oners, among the rest, a Capt. Reynolds, a desp ate villain, who has been the terror of that regi

cannot tell what will be the result, but I think he will be discharged.

"I shall come out all right. I am going to leave the city for a time, to get rid of the applicants who dog me so that I have no peace. I hope to return in two or three weeks with strength to advocate my bill for universal emancipation, and to excelpate the the charges of pro-slavery men.

"Very truly yours, OWEN LOVEJOY."

of highwaymen) would curdle the blood of all civilized men. Even boys of twelve years of age have been deliberately shot because they would not tell the place of concealment of their fathers. And women have been punished with lashes on the nakwell field the place of concealment of their fathers. And women have been punished with lashes on the nakwell field the place of concealment of their fathers. And women have been punished with lashes on the nakwell field fi

in the upper counties, says he can go to grave of ten persons, from boys of twelve and fifteen year up to old men of sixty, who were compelled to distance their own graves and get into them, and then were shat to death—ull for the crime of being for the Union. The capture, killing, and dispersion of this band will break up for a time these lawless and inham an proceedings in the neighborhood referred to.

Capt. Reynolds, the old scout, who has no often distinguished himself in hunting and dispersing these Capt. Reynous, the one scout, who has so often tinguished himself in hunting and dispersing a guerillas, is entitled to great credit for the achievement. The Captain commanding the tachment of the 3d Indiana Cavalry (I have

tachment of the 3d Indiana Cavalry (I have not his name) should also receive a due share of credit. A black soldier belonging to Major McGowan Regiment of 1st U. S. Colored Artillery, (heav.) yesterday, shot another, a white soldier, belonging to the 1st Ohio heavy artillery. This ansonrement I know will send a thrill of holy horror through the land, and there will be a universal how over the conventioness, with renewed decement. circumstances, with renewed d reumstances, with renewed denunciations of egro regiments. Not for the benefit of such at to satisfy the good and loyal people of the but to satisfy the good and loyal people of the con-try, all of whom will sincerely deplore the con-rence, I will state what is known of the affair at headquarters. The black soldier who killed the Ohio soldier had frequently been set upon, is miled and maltreated by the men of this battery, and by this very man. He had been stoned and threate-ed with death, and this conduct had become to ha-itual that no black soldier could pass along the real where these battery-men were without being stoned, assaulted, or in some way alwayd. The where these pattery-men were without being stoned assaulted, or in some way abused. The officer has submitted to this state of things until they aw the democralizing inflances of its state of the stat demoralizing influence of it upon their men; and that further toleration of this abuse would be crimsoldiers were then told to defend the nal. The soldiers were then told to defend themselves; to avoid all quarrels, if possible, and keep out of the way of these men, but if assalted to protect themselves. It seems deceased began by using abusive language toward the negro as he was going peaceably along the road, and followed it up by throwing stones at him, but the black man ran, and tried to avoid a collision. A courade of the assailant remonstrated with him, and told him "to let the negro alone," but he continued to follow and stone the black man, all the time swearing he would kill him. Finding that the man was in earnest in stone the black man, an one time swearing he would kill him. Finding that the man was in earnest in his threats, and that he could not escape, he drew his pistol and fired at his pursuer, and killed him on

#### EXECUTION OF B. W. WOOTER.

HAINES BLUFF, (Miss.) April 24, 1864. The undersigned, officers of the Third regiment United States cavalry (colored) make the following statement in relation to the hanging of R. W. Woo-ter, (a citizen) at this place, this 24th day of April,

Mr. B. W. Wooster made the statement to Major J. B. Cook, 3d United States cavalry, (colored,) that he (B. J. Wooster) considered that the rebel Gareral Forrest was perfectly justified in massering the brave colored garrison at Fort Pillov, Tennosee, on his capture of that place. He (B.V er) made the statement to colored soldiers of the 3d United States cavalry (colored) that the rebels were right in killing them when captured, alluding to Fort Pillow, Tennessee, and the murder of menbeonging to the regiment at Roache's Plantation

Said B. W. Wooster drew his knife on a colored soldier, Amos Hurd, Co. K, U. S. cavalry, (colored) while said soldier was on guard duty, and threatend to cut his throat.

The said B. W. Wooster was at the time engaged

n purchasing cotton and other speculations, under the protection of a brigade of colored soldiers, while in the enemy's country on an expedition towards enemy's country on an expedition towards azoo City, Miss.

He was arrested by order of Col. E. D. Osband,

commanding the regiment. During the absence of Col. Osband, at brigade headquarters, the indersigned officers of the regiment met, and dispanientely heard the testimony in the case, decided that he should be hung, and did hang him.

J. B. Cook, Major 3d U. S. cavalry (colored);

G. C. Starr, Capt.; C. C. Spaids, Capt.; Andrew Emery, Capt.; Andrew J. Haynes; Harrison White, Capt.; George Covkendall, Capt.; William Hyland, Capt.; Benj. S. Wing, Capt.; Frank S. Lovejoy, Adjutant; Phillip Wolfersberger, Lieut. and Reg. Commissary; Richard Taylor, 1st Lieut.; Randolph Grimes, 1st Lieut.; Joseph Randall, 1st Lieut.; Thomas C. Edland, 1st Lieut.; C. M. Parks, ut Lieut.; George F. Warren, 1st Lieut.; Wm. O. Lar rabee, 1st Lieut.; Marshal H. Moon, 1st Lieut.; Leland Hall, 2d Lieut.; Edwin Farley, 2d Lieut.; S. H. Pettengill, 2d Lieut.; A. S. Henderson, 2d Lieut. ederick Fernald, 2d Lieut.; Isaac H. Grissnol 2d Lieut.; W. H. Chapin, 2d Lieut.; J. Jennings

2d Lieut .- Special Corr. Chicago Tribune. [Note. The above names are each in a differnt handwriting, and the autographs of the signers -all of them officers in the colored service. The original document we reserve for Dr. Barry.-Ens.

# ANOTHER STEP FORWARD.

The New England Conference of the M. E. those bars of prejudice which have been so sollously erected by church and state for centuries our land. They admitted Rev. Mr. Mars, a colord eacher, into their ranks. Mr. Mars is of Virgin ian and Presbyterian descent. His father was a Presbyterian clergyman of Norfolk, and his mether the minister's slave. No scarlet letter blazed upon the minister's slave. No scarlet letter bases upon the brow of that transgressor, though Hawthorne in not needed to prove that it burned into his sail. His son has long been a distinguished minister in Western Massachusetts, was chaplain in the la North Carolina, was discharged for sickness, and ex-North Carolina, was discharged for sickness, and expects to return to Newbern or Norfolt under the direction of the Missionary Society of his chards. He was very popular there, and will be a very attended the conference cut the gordian knot that is perplexing some of the Methodist leaders. What sold the relations of the new church of the South with the North? Some are attempting to reorganize it on its old basis of separation—colored churches for colored-conferences and synods. This elegyman being a member of a regularly instituted conference, must be a member of shat which shall be organized in the territory where he labors. He is ganized in the territory where he labors. He is eligible to the General Conference and the bishop of that church, and may yet reach these That church and all other churches must be orgat ized without consideration of color. Minister of every complexion, and people also, shall dwell in unity and fraternity; the pastors being appointed or installed according to merit, not complexon. It will fare hard for some Caucasians in such a risk-ry; but such is the future fate of the church and nation. The favorite missionary lines will then have a truer meaning than they ever had before in this conutry:

"People and realms of every tongue Dwell on his praise with sweetest song."

## DEMOCRACY CLASSIFIED.

Petroleum Nasby classifies the various cliques in the Democratic party as follows:

1. Them ez would nominait Mick Lellon on b

rar platform.

2. Them ez would nomenait Mick Lellon es a ocese platform.

3. Them ez would nominait Vallandygum on a

var platform.

4. Them ez would nominait Vallandygum os a eese platform.

5. Them ez would favor the war if slavery cool

be let alone.

6. Them ez is opposed to the war in enny shape.

7. Them ez is in Kanady in consckens uv draft.

8. The betwist and betweeners, who or ashard uv our party and aint sootable for enny other.

They er with Democracy ez the Michiganers is with the itch—would like 2 git rid uv it, but can't.

For the benefit of those who do not find Copperhead in the dictionary, we give the following analysis:

C onspiracy.
O position to the war. P eace on any terms

P eace on any column.
P iracy.
E minity to the Union.
R ecognition of the "C. S. A."
H atred to the Government.
E arnest sympathy with traitors.
A narchy.
D isloyalty.

Advertimes at five to The Appropriate Ap The fo paper, viz: WM. LLO

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blood.

"Had your model of George Thore of George Thore dragged himself effect kundredsoon of the country of th I have now the ibeny-Gro

SPEECH ( Mr. Thompson poke as follows: I thank you, M e submitted les and gentier on have received

the all the second seco